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from his affectionate
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Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,

THE REV. WILLIAM HANNA, LL.D.

VOL. II.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.

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THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., LL.D.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST SERMON IN GLASGOW—APPEARANCE AND MANNER IN THE PULPIT—EXTRACT FROM PETER'S LETTERS TO HIS KINSFOLK—HIS ALARM AS TO THIS VISIT—HIS ACCOUNT OF IT WHEN OVER—ADMISSION AND INTRODUCTION AS MINISTER OF THE TRON CHURCH—SORROWFUL REMEMBRANCES OF KILMANY—VISIT TO BURNTISLAND AND KIRKALDY—ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF KILMANY—EFFECT OF MRS. CHALMERS'S RETURN WITH HIM TO GLASGOW—SIGHT OF NORMANLAW FROM THE CALTON HILL—LETTERS TO MR. EDIE AND TO MRS. MORTON—DESCRIPTION OF GLASGOW ANNOYANCES.

The first sermon which Mr. Chalmers preached in Glasgow was delivered before the Society of the Sons of the Clergy, on Thursday the 30th day of March, 1815, a few months after his appointment, and a few months previous to his admission as minister of the Tron Church. The recent excitement of the canvass, the rumours strange and various, which crossing the breadth of Scotland were circulating in all quarters through the city, the quickened curiosity of opponents, the large but somewhat tremulous expectation of friends, drew together a vast multitude to hear him. Among the crowd which filled the Church was a young Oxford student, himself the son of a Scottish minister, who had been surprised by hearing Mr. Chalmers's work on the Evidences of Christianity mentioned with high approval, within the walls of an English University, shortly after the date of its publication. The keen dark eye of the youthful auditor fixed itself in searching scrutiny upon the preacher, and a few years later his graceful and graphic pen drew the following sketch :—

" I was a good deal surprised and perplexed with the first glimpse I obtained of his countenance, for the light that streamed faintly upon it for the moment did not reveal anything like that general outline of feature and visage for which my fancy had, by some strange working of presentiment, prepared me. By and bye, however, the light became stronger, and I was enabled to study the minutiæ of his face pretty leisurely, while he leaned forward and read aloud the words of the Psalm, for that is always done in Scotland, not by the clerk, but the clergyman himself. At first sight, no doubt, his face is a coarse one, but a mysterious kind of meaning breathes from every part of it, that such as have eyes to see cannot be long without discovering. It is very pale, and the large half-closed eyelids have a certain drooping melancholy weight about them, which interested me very much, I understood not why. The lips, too, are singularly pensive in their mode of falling down at the sides, although there is no want of richness and vigour in their central fulness of curve. The upper lip, from the nose downwards, is separated by a very deep line, which gives a sort of leonine firmness of expression to all the lower part of the face. The cheeks are square and strong, in texture like pieces of marble, with the cheek-bones very broad and prominent. The eyes themselves are light in colour, and have a strange dreamy heaviness, that conveys any idea rather than that of dulness,

but which contrasts in a wonderful manner with the dazzling watery glare they exhibit when expanded in their sockets, and illuminated into all their flame and fervour in some moment of high entranced enthusiasm. But the shape of the forehead is, perhaps, the most singular part of the whole visage; and, indeed, it presents a mixture so very singular, of forms commonly exhibited only in the widest separation, that it is no wonder I should have required some little time to comprehend the meaning of it. In the first place, it is without exception the most marked mathematical forehead I ever met with—being far wider across the eyebrows than either Mr. Playfair's or Mr. Leslie's—and having the eyebrows themselves lifted up at their exterior ends quite out of the usual line, a peculiarity which Spurzheim had remarked in the countenances of almost all the great mathematical or calculating geniuses—such, for example, if I rightly remember, as Sir Isaac Newton himself, Kaestener, Euler, and many others. Immediately above the extraordinary breadth of this region, which, in the heads of most mathematical persons, is surmounted by no fine points of organization whatever, immediately above this, in the forehead, there is an arch of imagination, carrying out the summit boldly and roundly, in a style to which the heads of very few poets present anything comparable, while over this again there is a grand apex of high and solemn veneration and love, such as might have graced the bust of Plato himself, and such as in living men I had never beheld equalled in any but the majestic head of Canova. The whole is edged with a few crisp dark locks, which stand forth boldly, and afford a fine relief to the death-like paleness of those massive temples. * * *
Of all human compositions there is none surely which loses so much as a sermon does when it is made to address itself to the eye of a solitary student in his closet and not to the thrilling ears of a mighty mingled congregation, through the very voice

which nature has enriched with notes more expressive than words can ever be of the meanings and feelings of its author. Neither, perhaps, did the world ever possess any orator whose minutest peculiarities of gesture and voice have more power in increasing the effect of what he says—whose delivery, in other words, is the first, and the second, and the third excellence of his oratory—more truly than is that of Dr. Chalmers. And yet were the spirit of the man less gifted than it is, there is no question these, his lesser peculiarities, would never have been numbered among his points of excellence. His voice is neither strong nor melodious, his gestures are neither easy nor graceful; but, on the contrary, extremely rude and awkward; his pronunciation is not only broadly national, but broadly provincial, distorting almost every word he utters into some barbarous novelty, which, had his hearer leisure to think of such things, might be productive of an effect at once ludicrous and offensive in a singular degree. But of a truth, these are things which no listener can attend to while this great preacher stands before him armed with all the weapons of the most commanding eloquence, and swaying all around him with its imperial rule. At first, indeed, there is nothing to make one suspect what riches are in store. He commences in a low drawling key, which has not even the merit of being solemn, and advances from sentence to sentence, and from paragraph to paragraph, while you seek in vain to catch a single echo that gives promise of that which is to come. There is, on the contrary, an appearance of constraint about him that affects and distresses you. You are afraid that his breast is weak, and that even the slight exertion he makes may be too much for it. But then, with what tenfold richness does this dim preliminary curtain make the glories of his eloquence to shine forth, when the heated spirit at length shakes from it its chill confining fetters, and bursts out elate and rejoicing in the full splendour of its disimprisoned wings. * * * I have heard many men deliver sermons far better arranged in regard to argument, and have heard very many deliver sermons far more uniform in elegance both of conception and of style; but most unquestionably, I have never heard, either in England or Scotland, or in any other country, any preacher whose eloquence is capable of producing an effect so strong and irresistible as his."*

Mr. Chalmers's first sermon at Glasgow was chiefly occupied with the enforcement and illustration of principles applicable alike to all forms and varieties of Christian charity.† It contained in embryo his whole theory as to the proper treatment of pauperism, and is remarkable thus as indicating how firmly established in his mind that theory had become even before his labours as a city clergyman had commenced. But that particular institution whose claims he had undertaken to advocate was not forgotten; and in making an appeal to his hearers on behalf of the orphan children of clergymen, the following picture of the breaking up of a minister's family was presented:—"When the sons and the daughters of clergymen are left to go, they know not whither, from the peacefulness of their father's dwelling, never were poor outcasts less prepared by the education and the habits of former years, for the scowl of an unpitying world; nor can I figure a drearier and more affecting contrast than that which obtains between the blissful security of their earlier days, and the dark and unshielded condition to which the hand of Providence has now brought them. It is not necessary, for the purpose of awakening your sensibilities on this subject, to dwell upon every one circumstance of distress which enters into the sufferings of this bereaved family; or to tell you of the many friends they must abandon, and the many charms of that peaceful neighbourhood which they must quit for ever. But when they look abroad, and survey the innumerable beauties which the God of nature has scattered so profusely around them—when they see the sun throwing its unclouded splendours over the whole neighbourhood—when, on the fair side of the year, they behold the smiling aspect of the country, and at every footstep they take, some flower appears in its loveliness, or some bird offers its melody to delight them—when they see quietness on all the hills, and every field glowing in the pride and luxury of vegetation—when they see summer throwing its rich garment over this goodly scene of magnificence and glory, and think, in the bitterness of their souls, that this is the last summer which they shall ever witness, smiling on that scene which all the ties of habit and of affection have endeared to them—when this thought, melancholy as it is, is lost and overborne in the far darker melancholy of a father torn from their embrace, and a helpless family left to find their way unprotected and alone through the lowering futurity of this earthly pilgrimage, Do you wonder that their feeling hearts should be ready to lose hold of the promise, that He who decks the lily fair in flowery pride, will guide them in safety through the world, and at last raise all who believe in Him to the bloom and the vigour of immortality? The flowers of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin, yet your Heavenly Father careth for them—and how much more careth He for you, O ye of little faith." One who heard this passage delivered,* has told us, that "the tears of the *father* and preacher fell like rain-drops on the manuscript." And from many another eye besides that of the preacher the soft waters of sensibility were seen to flow.

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* *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, 2d edit., vol. iii. pp. 267-273.

† See *Works*, vol. xi. pp. 389-425.

Before leaving Fifeshire to preach in Glasgow upon this occasion, Mr. Chalmers had written to his friend Mr. Tennent:—

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* The Very Rev. E. B. Ramsay in his *Biographical Notice of Dr. Chalmers.*

"I feel greatly comforted by your assuring me of the friendship of my future people, and their desire to make me happy. In this case, they must not overwhelm me by their attentions. I shrink from the fatiguing intercourse of dinners and large companies. I have got as much of this proposed to me for the four days I am to spend with you as would serve me for four weeks. This is all very natural and very kind; but you, my dear Sir, will know how to explain it if I shall find it necessary to study as gradual a transition as possible from the happy coolness and peacefulness of my present situation." And on returning to Kilmany, Mr. Chalmers wrote to his sister, Mrs. Morton :—"Since writing you last, I have been in Glasgow, and preached to them, and spent four days with them, and have been carried through such a round of introductions, and seen such a number of people, that it is impossible for me to remember one-fourth part of them, and far less to have got so near any one of them, as to give you a particular account of him. All I shall say on that subject is, that Dr. Macgill, my predecessor, and now Professor of Divinity, appears to be a very interesting personage. The time of my removal is yet uncertain." The day of his admission to his new charge was at length fixed to be Friday the 21st day of July. It is the Scottish custom that on the Sabbath which follows his ordination or admission, the new minister should be introduced to his people by a friend, who conducts the forenoon service. It had been suggested to him that the Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff of Edinburgh should, in this instance, be requested to undertake that duty; and as his personal acquaintance with that eminent clergyman appeared to Mr. Chalmers too limited to justify a personal application, Dr. Balfour conveyed the request. So soon as he heard of its being complied with, Mr. Chalmers hastened to express his gratitude :—"It is with the utmost pleasure that I am given to understand by Dr. Balfour that you have consented to introduce me to my new charge in Glasgow I fear you will think me very impudent and presuming in having ventured to propose a favour of such magnitude, nor could I ever have thought of taking such a liberty had it not been suggested to me by a clerical friend, in whose friendship and wisdom and tact I have the utmost confidence, and whose intimacy with yourself gave me the security that there was nothing improper in submitting to you such a proposition. Be assured of my utmost gratitude for your compliance; and I have only to regret that, from my state of health, which does not admit of very frequent or severe exertions in the way of preaching, I may not be able to repay your kind service to the extent to which I consider it entitled. Your countenance on an occasion so interesting to myself will, I trust, never be forgotten by me, and it goes far to soothe my transition to the new field of labour which Providence has assigned me, when I observe so much done to secure me a respectable outset." On Thursday, the 13th day of July, the manse of Kilmany was finally forsaken. His last days in Fifeshire were given to his parents; and leaving his family at Anstruther, Mr. Chalmers proceeded by way of Edinburgh to Glasgow, where on the very day of his arrival the first of those journal letters was commenced, which afterwards, when separated for any length of time from Mrs. Chalmers, he so faithfully continued, and out of which our future pages will be so frequently and liberally enriched.

" *Glasgow, July 20th,* 1815.—I breakfasted this morning in Edinburgh with Mr. Payne, an Independent clergyman, and got forward in the coach with Mr. Paul, your visitor, and Mr Fletcher of the London Missionary Society: was conducted to my lodgings almost immediately by Mr. John Wood. They consist of a dining-room and bed-room, perhaps not so stylish as I could have wished, but in a high airy situation, as fresh and pure as Kilmany itself, with no other substantial drawback than that another room cannot be got in the same house, and that the landlady, with every disposition to oblige me and make me comfortable, has a quantity and volubility of talk upon every subject, which is a little annoying. * * * *Friday* 21*st*, *eleven o'clock.*—Breakfasted in my own room pleasantly and comfortably. I thank God that He makes me feel so tranquil; but, oh what alienation from Him have I to struggle with in this scene of visible and temporal allurement! Called on Dr. Balfour, and there met Sir Henry Moncreiff. The town is very thin at present; but a number of people have come from the country to be present at this occasion. * * * *Four o'clock.*—I have got the admission over. It was a pretty formidable thing. There were three chairs put in the middle passage before the pulpit. I was placed in the middle one, and Sir Henry Moncreiff and Dr. Adamson on each side of me. I had to stand during a pretty long address. In coming out I stood at the door, and had to shake hands with the people. An immense number I had to do this with—and sometimes I got three hands in my *loof* at once. Mr. Melvil is now with me. We sit down to dinner at five; and as Mr. Melvil is waiting, and I fear I may not have time to write any for the post after dinner, I shall conclude. May God pour His best blessings upon you and my dear little Anne. Tell Isabel that I am sorry if I hurt her feelings on the morning of my departure, and hope she will mind my wishes and forget the eagerness with which I expressed them. Compliments to all my dear friends at Anster. Do write me soon."

"*Glasgow, July 26th,* 1815.—I beg that you would write me frequently; for though here I am surrounded with attentions, yet I have met with nothing that can at all replace the objects I have abandoned. * * * I have gathered thus much, at least, from the present state of my feelings, that you are my most valuable and necessary companion, and truly a help meet for me. May God spare you and our little one. May He bring us soon together in health and in safety; and oh! that He would possess our hearts with one principle and one sympathy on the greatest and most deeply interesting of subjects.

"On Sunday Sir Henry Moncreiff preached an hour and twenty minutes in the forenoon—I preached an hour and a quarter. The crowd was immense. Mr. Simeon of Cambridge was one of my hearers, and afterwards met with me. He is a most delightful man. I got twenty-two calls on Monday, eighteen on Tuesday, and to-day I missed a number from being out. * * * May the God of all mercy bless you and my dear Anne with all that is precious."

"*Glasgow, August 4th,* 1815.—I have not yet collected sufficient materials for filling up a letter, but I now write under the impulse of the recollection that this is our marriage-day. Nor can I refrain from expressing not merely my ardent and unabated affection for you—an affection which I can assure you has suffered no decay, but is fresher and livelier and more determined than ever; but I also write to express my gratitude for your unwearied anxiety for all that could conduce to my comfort—an anxiety which you have ever kept up under all my perverseness, and all my peculiarities of habit and of temper, and all the annoyances I have given you, and all the wilfulness with which I have adhered to my own taste and my own inclination, unmindful as I have often been of your feelings, and ever disposed to make my way take the precedence of your way. May God long preserve you a comfort to me. May He touch our hearts with a united sentiment of fear to Him and faith in the Lord Jesus, that we may live as fellow-travellers to one eternal home, and dying unto the world, may feel our affections more and more placed upon eternity. Oh! my dear G., cherish in your heart the obligation we both owe to her who is the dear pledge of our love to one another. Let us qualify ourselves to be her example and her teachers. Never give up the habit of praying for her and for one another; and remember that you cannot begin too early to protect her from the mistaken indulgence of friends and the evil influences of a world lying in wickedness. * * * Do write me immediately. Give my kindest affections to my father, mother, and family. THOMAS CHALMERS."

Mr. Chalmers's eye was too single to be blinded by that blaze of unparalleled popularity which at the very commencement of his ministry broke around him at Glasgow. His earlier affections were too strong and too tender to be overborne or obliterated by the flattering adulations of crowding multitudes of strangers. Often in the midst of the most animating bustle, himself the central object of all kinds of public attention, he stood with drooping eyelid and dreamy look, lost to all around, his imagination wandering over the homesteads of Kilmany, his heart holding intercourse with the dear friends he had left behind in Fifeshire. About a fortnight after his settlement he wrote to Mr. Robert Edie:—

"*Glasgow, August* 10*th*, 1815.—I have not heard from Kilmany since I came here. * * * I cannot yet bring myself to think of my old neighbourhood without pain, and the whole parting scene passes before me in the form of a very gloomy and oppressive recollection. I see that it will require great arrangement to secure me the right command of time for my studies. I am striving to keep my day from being broken in upon till twelve o'clock, and then callers, and poor, and people of all descriptions, come in upon me at the rate say of twenty per day. I then go out to meetings and visits in the town, and endeavour always to have an hour's walk in the country before dinner. I am sadly teased with invitations, but this too I am striving to reduce to some kind of moderation; and I hope that in the process of time I shall be able to accommodate myself pleasantly and serenely to the state of my actual circumstances.

"I mean to leave Glasgow on Monday the 28th of August, and spend a fortnight between Kirkaldy and Burntisland at sea-bathing. I would willingly come to Kilmany, but I know the effect would be just another gloomy scene of regret and melancholy at leaving it. This, I trust, will not operate as an objection to the more deliberate visit which I propose to pay next summer; but at present the wound is too fresh and too recent to admit of being so soon tampered with.

"It gave me great pleasure to meet Alexander Paterson after I left you, who cheered me with encouraging information respecting some of his acquaintances in the parish. Oh that it might turn out to be a genuine work of the Spirit of God upon their consciences! I have earnestly to entreat of you that you hold fast all right and serious impressions: and be assured that there would not have been so much said in the Bible about backsliding, and taking heed lest we fall, and strengthening the things which remain, had there not been a strong tendency to relapse on our part; and it is right that we should be aware of this, and that our vigilance should be directed to the point of danger and alarm, and that we should make in faith a daily and an hourly commitment of ourselves to those promises which are in Christ Jesus, of not being tempted beyond what we are able, and of being strengthened by Him to do all things.

"I beg of you to offer the expression of my sincere regard to all the members of your family. I sympathize with Mrs. Edie, whose affection for poor David, whom she had so long and so anxiously tended, must have received a deep wound from his affecting departure. Tell me if Miss Edie is better of her cold; and I should like also to know about Miss Miles, whom I had visited twice or thrice before leaving the country. Give my kindest remembrance to Thomas Key, Robert Dewar, and Alexander Paterson, senior. Remember me to Mr. and Miss Aitkin. When I name these acquaintances, I think of their houses, and a lively image of my old peaceful neighbourhood enters into my mind, and throws me into a flood of tenderness. Let me not forget Mrs. Bonthron. Is the *beddel* got better? I beg that Mr. Edie may inform me through your letter of Mary Farmer and John Dandie, as to their circumstances. Tell William Henderson that, though he could not speak when we last saw each other, I had a very deep impression both of his regard for me and his wife's. Speak of me to Effie Nicholson, and though I do not name all the villagers, I love them all, and often think of them all. Give my kind compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Robertson.

"I consider a letter to you as equivalent to a letter to your father, and I hope he will consider it as such; and it will give me great pleasure to have *immediately* a letter either from you or him in return. But let it be long and closely written, and rest assured that it cannot be too particular. Every one piece of information respecting any one either of the parish or village will interest me greatly. Crowd all the intelligence you can think of into the letter, for I have a great appetite to know and to hear respecting you all. Could I know of any rejoicing in the truth and walking in the truth, it would be an exquisite gratification. I beg you will write your letter more closely than I have done, and do it on a long sheet, if you have it. With prayers for you and all your relatives, believe me to be, my dear Sir, yours with most sincere regard,—THOMAS CHALMERS."

Agreeably to the intention expressed in this letter Mr.

Chalmers left Glasgow on Monday the 28th August, to spend a fortnight between Burntisland and Kirkaldy, and to bring his family back with him on his return. On reaching Burntisland he wrote to his mother, telling her why it was that he asked upon this occasion to be excused from coming to Anstruther. " In spite of all this, however," he adds, " I still *may* come, but I should like to know if you have any particular reason for wishing me, and then I will consider that I *must* come. I beg you will let me know in the spirit of *considerate* kindness—for there is an ordinary style of kindness which drives everything before it, and will not be satisfied unless you dine with us, and take up your abode with us, and pays no regard to one's health, or convenience, or wishes, and insists upon carrying its own object;—there is a kindness of this sort, I say, which I have been fatigued with since I last saw you, which I feel to be most oppressive, and which, I think, is utterly undeserving of its name. Oh! when will true kindness come to be understood, and instead of fatiguing its object by its exactions and souring him by its complaints, will give all jealousy to the wind, and delight in ministering to his convenience by making him welcome when present, and by cordially giving way to his circumstances when it is more agreeable for him to be absent!

" One great inducement would be to see Helen; but I trust that Helen understands how a man may exercise friendship towards her in the act of thinking of her, though she is not just within the sphere of his vision. Give her my kindest assurances of affection and good-will. Be as frank in your letter to me as I have been in my letter to you. Tell me what your wish is upon this subject, and I shall cheerfully do it."

His friends at Anstruther did not urge his coming, and he thus thanked them for the spirit of considerate kindness which they had displayed:—" It is a substantial accommodation to me that I am not under the necessity of going to Anster at present. I am regularly sea-bathing, and find myself much the better of it. Be not alarmed about me, as I mean to be far more moderate in my exertions; and I hope that with Mrs. Chalmers interposing her advice, and being quite in earnest that I should not take too much upon me, I shall be enabled to suit my exertions to my strength. My general health is remarkably good; and after the oppressive crowd in my church has subsided a little, I trust that, by the favour of God, I may be enabled to preserve my health amongst them. * * *

"Tell Helen how much I think of her toleration in not dragging me twenty-five miles for the mere purpose of a mutual look at one another."

Although unable at this time to visit Kilmany he had no longer to complain of being left without information regarding it. Writing from Kirkaldy in the beginning of September, he tells his sister, Mrs. Morton,—"I continue to get the most affectionate and interesting letters from Kilmany.—I feel a painful tenderness about my old parish. I am writing an address to them at present, part of which has gone to the press. I cannot venture upon pathos in this composition. I feel too sore when I make this attempt. It is one or two topics of practical instruction that I have taken up; and I pray God that it may be useful amongst them."

His chief Kilmany correspondent was Mr. Robert Edie, who having striven in one of his letters to gratify as he could the strong craving for all kind of information about old friends, was, in return, rewarded by receiving the following reply:—

"*Kirkaldy, September 5th.*—I received your most interesting letter, and wept over it. I trust that your family will be taught of God, and be enabled to spread a savour of good things over the neighbourhood around them. You cannot write too often, too minutely, or at too great length. I feel that I shall ever take a great interest in my old parish; and it is my wish that God would make me more mindful of them all, and more fervent in my daily prayers for them than I have ever yet been.

"I have a short address to Kilmany in the press. I was obliged to confine myself very much to one topic. I hope I may have been well directed in my choice of it; and it will give me pleasure to hear from you afterwards that it is read with acceptance and impression by my much loved people. * * * I mean, if I can get hold of 'Witherspoon on Regeneration' in Edinburgh, to send you a copy. It is a truly important treatise, and I think will be much liked both by you and Mr. Paterson. I hope you are both holding fast your confidence. What a privilege, when we are enabled by faith to say of God, each for and of himself, that He is *my* God. Now, all have a warrant for this. God does not refuse us, but how many of us refuse Him? He is pleased with the faith of a creature saying of Him that He is *my* God. With such a faith as this how delightful is existence? How light are all its cares? How calm and clear that soul which can so rest upon God. Do, my dear Sir, dwell much upon the promises, and shut not your eye upon the precepts. They go hand in hand. By the one you are enabled to fulfil the other; and with the joys of the Christian faith to combine the diligence of the Christian practice.

"I am obliged to conclude for want of time; but do you write me soon, and fill up every corner of your letter to me."

The Address to the Inhabitants of Kilmany referred to in the preceding letter, excited on its appearance considerable and unexpected censure. Private remonstrances, letters from friends, pamphlets and reviews,* informed its author that he was believed by many to give an unwise and unscriptural advice in urging those who, in the first stages of religious earnestness, feel unsettled and insecure as to the ground of their acceptance with God, to set themselves immediately, and with all diligence, to renounce every obviously wrong thing they had hitherto practised, and to do every obviously right thing which they had neglected. But neither private censure nor public assault could tempt Mr. Chalmers into controversy. The impression made at the time upon his mind was expressed in the following letter to Mr. Edie. His latest and maturest judgment saw nothing in the Address, as it originally stood, to alter or explain away:—

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* See Appendix A.

"*Glasgow, November 25th.*—I am glad to observe from you that the printed Address was not unacceptable to many. It has excited a good deal of speculation both in Glasgow and Edinburgh; and I confess I should have been better pleased had I heard of its practical impression on the consciences and lives of some readers than of all those approvals and objections which imply nothing more than an anxiety to give the truths I have brought forward a right adjustment in their speculative system. It would comfort me much to know that it told practically on a willing and obedient people in your neighbourhood. If it has no other effect than to set them a-doing and be satisfied with themselves, it does mischief; and sorry should I be if, in my attempt to divide the word of truth, I have failed in giving the faith, the humility, the godliness of the New Testament, that high supremacy which belongs to them. Oh! my dear Sir, never forget that while called upon to be strong it is to be strong in the grace that is in the Lord Jesus. Have your eye ever directed to Him as the alone fountain out of whose supplies you obtain strength for doing anything aright. Go to God on the firm ground of His righteousness as your alone plea for acceptance before Him; and remember that it is only through the channel of His mediatorship that you get that washing of regeneration and that renewing of the Holy Ghost which lie at the bottom of all right and spiritual obedience.

"I was in Edinburgh a fortnight ago, giving a little assistance at their sacrament. From the top of the Calton Hill I saw Normanlaw, an object visible from the west window of my manse. Dr. Jones was with me, but this did not hinder me from gazing on the pinnacle with a most eager direction of my heart to that dear vale which stretches eastward from its base. Oh! with what vivid remembrance can I wander in thought over all its farms and all its families, and dwell on the kind and simple affection of its people, till the contemplation becomes too bitter for my endurance—and contrast the days which now are with the days which once were, when I sat embosomed in tranquillity and friendship, and could divide the whole time between the pursuits of sacred literature and the work of dealing out simple and spiritual teaching among my affectionate parishioners. This system is now, I grieve to say it, greatly broken up; and one must signalize himself by resisting every established practice, or spend a heartless, hard driving, distracting, and wearing out life among the bustle of unministerial work, and no less unministerial company. I do not know what it will come to, but I can easily perceive that I shall not be right till I get myself emancipated from the multiplied drudgery of these ever-recurring avocations; and should I obtain this emancipation, then I grant you that Glasgow is a highly interesting field—that much kindness and much principle are to be found in it—that the good which is to be done and the good which might be done are incalculable, and that I have already met with individuals in whom I can enjoy all that undisguised sincerity of friendship, and all that sympathy of Christian feeling which so often cheered and refreshed me when I lived in your village, and could obtain at a call the benefit and the pleasure of your evening conversations."

After a refreshing fortnight in Fifeshire, Mr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow on Saturday the 16th September, and removed from his solitary lodgings in Rotten-row to a family establishment in Charlotte Street. The happy effect of this change is indicated in the contrast between two letters to his old friend and neighbour, the Rev. Mr. Watson, minister of Leuchars, the first written at the close of his first week in Glasgow, the second about a month after his settlement in Charlotte Street :—

"*Glasgow, July 29th,* 1815.—I seize the opportunity of a half-hour to write you a few words. I can give you no satisfaction whatever as to my liking or not liking Glasgow. Were I to judge by my present feelings, I would say that I dislike it most violently ; but the present state of my mind is not a fair criterion—at a distance from my family, and in a land of strangers ; and though beset with polite attentions, feeling that there is positively nothing in them all to replace those warmer and kindlier enjoyments which friendship brings along with it. What is to come out of it I know not ; but I may at least say, that all around me yet carries the aspect of desolation. This, however, I am sensible is due to me and not to them—for smarting, as I do, under the agonies of a sore separation, and broken loose, as it were, from the whole world of my former acquaintances, I am not in a state for appreciating or enjoying the undoubted worth and excellence of many who have come under my observation.

"I have got about one hundred calls in the course of this week, and I foresee a deal of very strange work in the business of a Glasgow minister. What think you of my putting my name to two applications for licenses to sell spirits, and two certificates of being qualified to follow out the calling of *pedlars*, in the course of yesterday? Glasgow is a great thoroughfare to the religious world. The most remarkable men I have met with in that way since my arrival are Mr. Simeon of Cambridge and Mr. Walker of Dublin.

" I called at Pilmuir on my way west; and were anything necessary to revive and perpetuate the friendship I have ever felt for Mrs. Fortune, the kind and benignant reception I received from her, though I had not seen her for about six years, awoke my every sentiment of tenderness and regard. I was in great heaviness, and felt all the bitterness of a man who was going he knew not whither; and in my whole progress, indeed, from Kilmany to Glasgow, I had the feeling as if all the scenes and all the friendships of my former years were dying away from me, nor have I found a single object to occupy the cheerless blank which the warm associations of other days have left behind them.

" I would think of your dear and quiet neighbourhood if I could do it without anguish; but I have no pleasure in the roaming of my fancy over the charms of a scenery I have abandoned. Tell Mrs. Watson that she is the object of my daily prayers, and that I can never think of her without the most grateful sense of all her forbearance with me. May the blessing of God rest on your peaceful habitation. May your hearts be united to fear him. May you live together as fellow-travellers to eternity; and may you and your children after you find their final settlement in that unfading home where there is no sadness and no separation."

" *Glasgow, October 27th,* 1815.—It is just as you said. Mrs. Chalmers has come, and time has had space to operate, and all the familiarities of a sheltered home and a friendly neighbourhood are gathering around me, and I am every day getting more reconciled to my new situation, though I trust that the former home will never lose its place in my memory, and the former friends will never lose their place in my affection. I can think of you all with less pain, but with not less tenderness, and I regale myself with the hope of a deliberate visit in summer, as one of the most blissful visions of futurity on this side of time.

"This, Sir, is a wonderful place; and I am half entertained and half provoked by some of the peculiarities of its people. The peculiarity which bears hardest upon me is the incessant demand they have upon all occasions for the personal attendance of the ministers. They must have four to every funeral, or they do not think that it has been genteelly gone through. They must have one or more to all the committees of all the societies. They must fall in at every procession. They must attend examinations innumerable, and eat of the dinners consequent upon these examinations. They have a niche assigned them in almost every public doing, and that niche must be filled up by them, or the doing loses all its solemnity in the eyes of the public. There seems to be a superstitious charm in the very sight of them, and such is the manifold officiality with which they are covered that they must be paraded among all the meetings and all the institutions. I gave in to all this at first, but I am beginning to keep a suspicious eye upon these repeated demands ever since I sat nearly an hour in grave deliberation with a number of others upon a subject connected with the property of a corporation, and that subject was a *gutter*, and the question was whether it should be bought and covered up, or let alone and left to lie open. I am gradually separating myself from all this trash, and long to establish it as a doctrine that the life of a town minister should be what the life of a country minister might be, that is, a life of intellectual leisure, with the *otium* of literary pursuits, and his entire time disposable to the purposes to which the Apostles gave themselves wholly, that is, the ministry of the word and prayer.

"My sacrament takes place on Sunday-week. I have had a very interesting set of young communicants. Their number is only twenty-two. The truth is, that in large towns, where it is so easy to escape observation, people do not come forward to the sacrament so much from the mere impulse of example. There is more of a real principle in the matter; and I have met with some very delightful exhibitions of the genuine working of humility and conviction in the minds of my visitors.

"The University is now sitting, and the society of professors and students will add another very agreeable infusion to the general society of the place.

"Tell Miss Lawson that I was asking for her. I cannot name a person but my imagination summons up the localities of your dear and interesting neighbourhood. May the Lord Jesus see much of the travail of His soul among the people of your parish, and may He grant, that though here at a distance from each other, we may so live and so walk in His faith and obedience that we shall be found in fellowship together at the side of His everlasting throne. THOMAS CHALMERS."

The wide forthgoings of his own cordial disposition which invited and encouraged approach, and the celebrity which had now gathered round his name, made him the object of attraction to thousands. Modestly blind to all this, he continued to regard and to describe the annoyances to which he was consequently exposed as the ordinary accompaniments of every city ministry. One of the earliest of those details in which he so often afterwards indulged is given in a letter to his sister, who had recently been severely tried in her own family:—

"*Glasgow, January 5th,* 1816.—MY EVER DEAREST JANE,—We have now fairly settled in Glasgow, and I can speak more confidently as to my taste and liking for my new situation. Our establishment consists at present of my wife, daughter, Charles, two boarders, Messrs. Laird and Scriba, and finally, three servants.

Our domestic society is agreeable enough. My great time for it is an hour after supper, being much employed through the day. We live in a house at £75 a year, which is looked upon as cheap in Glasgow, and is a pretty fair specimen of the prices of other things. We have, however, a great deal of accommodation, insomuch that Miss Pratt lived some months with us, and Miss Margaret Balfour of Dundee, your favourite, spent a few weeks with us. Her father came for her, and he is almost the only interesting acquaintance we have seen from our old neighbourhood since our arrival in this place.

"So much for the home department. As to the foreign, my chief annoyance is the quantity of secular work which has been suffered to accumulate on the clergy—such as the business of the poor, and of hospitals, and of public institutions. This I have set my face against, and though I have a good deal of opposition to encounter, yet I am persuaded that I have the solid countenance and approbation of all who value the pure objects of the Christian ministry, who have reflected well on the separate and spiritual nature of their employments, and formed a right comparative estimate of the benevolence which points to time and that which points to eternity.

"My next annoyance is the multitude of calls and invitations. The first I have not nearly returned, and they will not be repeated; the second I have accepted only to a limited extent, and of late I have been obliged by my tendency to cold to decline them all, which I shall probably continue to do during the winter months. In this I have a few clamours to contend with, but I have a numerous set of friends who value my health and usefulness, and am borne up by their approving testimony in this particular also.

"My third annoyance is the fatigue of preaching. The church is in a confined situation, and crowded to excess. It is partly my own fault, for I preach louder and longer than I used to do. I am to make the diminution of my fatigue a serious object, and in this I am so heartily sympathized with by my congregation, that they are just now pressing an assistant upon me for half the day. I hope I shall not find this necessary.

"My fourth annoyance is the want of seasoning to the air and climate of Glasgow. The frost has an opposite effect to what I was counting on. It condenses the smoke of the public works and sends it down in the form of darkness visible through the streets and passages. Here the kindness of the people is unbounded. I spend a great part of my time among the neighbouring villas of the town. I am just now writing you from one of those pure country houses. My feelings are not at all peculiar or alarming. Every new comer requires such a seasoning; and Dr. Lockhart, one of the clergy, told me that he was miserable his first winter here, and has enjoyed uninterrupted health ever since. I have said so much of the disadvantages that I have left no room for the encouragements;—these I shall postpone to my next letter, for I will not encroach on the space that I have been in the habit of devoting to the first and most valuable of all subjects.

"I trust that my dear Jane is every day finding the Saviour more precious to her soul, and is receiving such larger supplies of that faith which is not of ourselves, but is the gift of God, that she is enabled more and more to rest on Him for the fulfilment of all His promises. What I should like to realize is the feeling of being a stranger and a pilgrim on the earth—to shake off that obstinate delusion which binds me to the world as my home—to take up with eternity as my settled habitation—and transfer the wishes and the interests and the hopes which are so apt to grovel among the objects of a perishable scene, to the realities and the glories of Paradise. Let this be our diligent aspiring at this season of the year; and oh how it would elevate and tranquillize us amid the troubles of that intervening period which is so soon to terminate. How little, my dearest, do all your past afflictions appear now that they have been endured! Be assured that in a little time all your present and all your future will just bear the same character of lightness and insignificance. Do, then, be of good cheer. Do summon up confidence in God. Do let the pure light of faith disperse those darkening clouds of anxiety which so often beset and bewilder us. By such an exercise as this you do honour to God. The more unstaggering your faith is amid the threatening appearances of sense, the more is God well pleased with it. It is a fine description of the faith of Abraham, that he hoped against hope. Do the same, my dear Jane; and if you fail not in your faith, God will not fail in His faithfulness. Let us walk no longer by sight. Let every trial of faith be to us a trial of patience also. Let the realities of a coming home be more and more familiar to us. Let us walk among them by contemplation, and let them shed a lustre over the daily doings of us who profess to be candidates for eternity.

"Give my kindest remembrance and the compliments of the season to Mr. Morton. Yours, very affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

CHAPTER II.

MR. THOMAS SMITH—SINGULAR ATTACHMENT TO AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIM—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.

The desolation of heart felt by Mr. Chalmers on first coming to Glasgow was speedily repaired. When the eight years of his residence in that city closed, he bade farewell to such a band of devoted personal friends and fellow-labourers as seldom if ever have been seen to cluster round any single Christian philanthropist. And ere the first month of that residence had gone by, his affections had alighted upon a youthful member of his congregation, to whom he speedily became bound by ties of such peculiar strength and tenderness as threw over their brief earthly intercourse all the air of a spiritual romance. Mr. Thomas Smith, the son of a well known Glasgow publisher, was qualifying himself for the profession of a writer or attorney. His family having interested themselves in Mr. Chalmers's appointment, he was early introduced to the notice of his new minister, and occasionally invited to accompany him in his daily walk or ride. His intellectual accomplishments, his refined taste, his gentle bearing, his pure and aspiring aims, soon won Mr. Chalmers's heart. But what gave him a still stronger hold upon that heart than any personal endowment, was his being so far as was known to Mr. Chalmers, the first-fruits spiritually of his ministry in Glasgow. As if all those affections, which wrenched from their old objects were in search of new ones, had suddenly concentrated on him, he became the object of an attachment which, in the brief entries of a private journal, now reduced to the ordinary measure of a single line for each succeeding day, vents itself in such expressions as the following:—" Called on Mr. Thomas Smith; O God, purify and christianize and give salutary effect to my regard for him."—" Had long walks and conversations with T. S.—O my God, save me from all that is idolatrous in my regard for him!" The occasional soon turned into daily intercourse, a trysting-place being appointed on the banks of the Monkland Canal, where each day at a set hour they met. And the general conversation of ordinary friendship soon flowed in that new channel into which it was directed by a heart yearning for the spiritual and eternal welfare of its object. Ere long, close and affectionate as it was, the out-door intercourse was not enough. There were meetings besides for reading the Holy Scriptures and for prayer; and great as were the efforts and fatigues of the Tron Church pulpit, an hour each Sabbath evening was set apart for conjoined devotion. Nothing was suffered to interfere with these daily meetings. " Should these flying showers be the order of this day," so writes Mr. Chalmers one bleak December morning, " it will blow up our proposed arrangement, in which case (and you can judge of this when the time comes) I would propose that you should call on me as soon after two as you find convenient, when we shall go through the regular business of the day; and if the weather does not admit of exercise out of doors, I should then like to go to Stockwell* and have half an hour at bagatelle." Upon another morning of this same month, and as if unable to wait till a few hours brought round a personal interview, Mr. Chalmèrs writes,—" I am not so well as to go to the Presbytery, but not so unwell as to be confined from walking. At the same time, I should like the walk to be in my garden rather than at the usual rendezvous; and if this reach you in time you will oblige me much by bending your course to Charlotte Street so soon as released from business.

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* The residence of Mr. Smith.

"May your progress in all that is Christian become every day more sensible in your heart and life. May the grand peculiarities of the faith take their firm and effectual hold of you, and a resemblance to that very peculiar example which the Author of this faith set before you be more and more visibly inscribed on every lineament of your character. May you grow in all that is delicate, and amiable, and honourable, and of good report. The semblance of all these may and has been attained out of Christ, but such a semblance as will not bear examination; and be assured, my dearest of earthly friends, that those things of which Christ cannot say in the day of reckoning that they are done unto me, will, when sifted to the interior, be found to be not well done. If, on the impulse of natural compassion I surrender a sum of money to a charitable purpose;—verily, I say unto you, that this deed has its reward. It is rewarded by the pleasure of the exercise, or by the gratitude of the object, or by the reputation of a generous character in society, all of which rewards have their accomplishment in life, but reach not to eternity. Suppose I do the very same deed because Christ requires it of me, or because I have cultivated the feeling of compassion at His requirement, He who knows what is in man sees the principle of homage to Him in the performance, and He honours it accordingly with His testimony in the eventful day of our fate; and thus the same external deed, which in one is of no account on the great scale of immortality, is in another a treasure laid up in heaven, a jewel in that crown of splendour which is to encircle the head of the righteous. I have heard the saying of our Saviour on that day turned to the purpose of magnifying benevolence at the expense of faith. Now the very reason why these deeds of benevolence are so accounted of is, that they were done *in faith*—'forasmuch as in doing it to these ye did it unto me.'

"Indulge this effusion, and rest assured that it is the effusion of a heart which longs and which rejoices over you. May God spare us for many days a comfort and a means of establishment to each other. May we have much sweet counsel together in this the land of our pilgrimage; and after our course is finished, and we have passed through the trials and allurements of this deceitful scene, may we be found without spot and blameless before the throne of God's glory. Oh! when I think of the exposures and the dangers of this world, and how the yearly thousands of victims are swelling the sad account of depravity and of its triumphs, when I think of all this and look to the blue serene of yon innocent and peaceful heaven of which our kind and good Saviour tells us that there is *nothing there to offend*, I can enter into the sentiment of the patriarch, 'I would not live alway.'"

"*December* 8*th*, 1815.—This cold of mine is getting a little obstinate, and I have determined on the confinement of another day. I leave you to guess the best earthly expedient I have for alleviating the irksomeness of this confinement, and trust the application of it to your much valued friendship.

"Leave not business on my account; but as you go through the world, O may the fear of God and a watchful and well principled conscience go as your guides and your safeguards along with you.

"My prayer is, that you may never cease your exertions after an unsoiled gracefulness and brilliancy of character. Try and find your way to the sentiment, that this can only be done by the grace that is in the Lord Jesus, and should be done as an offering unto Him. Let all self-complacency be banished from our hearts. Let duty to God be the principle, and His glory, rather than the adornment of self, be the object; but amid all my distinctions about motives let me not perplex you out of that vigorous career in which I trust you will be always making progress and always abounding."

When a week at Blochairn or Kilmardinny* broke in upon the accustomed fellowship, an almost daily interchange of letters took place, occasioning a correspondence† in which the questions of election and vows and the propriety of attending public assemblies for dancing, were discussed. Step by step the Christian minister leads along the youthful and beloved disciple—thrown once or twice into anxiety, which breaks at last into exulting joy, as he discerns the clear and unmistakable tokens of a true and firm and advancing faith in the Redeemer. With exquisite wisdom, too, is the counsel of the Christian adviser tempered. "I could not," he says in a letter dated Kilmardinny, January 6th, 1816, "write you my customary note yesterday, and propose to make up for it by a longer communication this day. I have received your different notes, which are every day advancing in interest, and suggest to my own mind most useful topics of consideration. May God grant you a large supply of the spirit of earnestness to be altogether what He would have you to be, and to do altogether what He would have you to do. You have great encouragement in the saying, 'that whosoever willeth to do His will shall know of His doctrine.' I shall not confine myself to one particular topic, but come forward with a few miscellaneous points suggested by our whole correspondence. First,—Your intercourse with me filled up so much of your time. Leave not this time in a state of exposure to any adverse or questionable influence. Be at no loss how to dispose of it. It is a wise and admirable arrangement of matters when such an employment is laid down for every hour as to beget no wavering, no idleness, no hesitation about what shall I turn to next. And remember that needful amusement is not idleness—healthful relaxation is not idleness—attention to friends and acquaintances is not idleness—falling in with such arrangements in the way of business or visiting as your natural superiors expect you to concur in, and which are not hostile to principle, however offensive to taste and inclination, is not idleness. All this you may do *unto the Lord*, for He wills all this ; but may Heaven ever preserve you from such idleness as to escape from the misery of its own languor flies for resources to any one quarter where it may find them. Do study such a filling up of time as will keep you away from the evil communications of a world in wickedness ; and if, when you look around, you see an unvaried atmosphere of corruption, think that Christ came to make unto Himself a *peculiar* people, and do nobly signalize yourself ; and in daring to be singular, lift your intrepid front against the tide of general example, and follow serenely the suggestions of principle amid all the ridicule of the world, and all its outcry.

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* Blochairn, the country residence of C. S. Parker, Esq., and Kilmardinny, of J. Tennent, Esq., both attached friends, to whose neighbouring villas Dr. Chalmers delighted to retire for study from the oppressive bustle of the city.

† This correspondence it is proposed to publish hereafter.

" Secondly,—You complain of the turmoil of business. In as far as it takes you away from the more congenial exercise of study or prayer or religious contemplation, I can conceive, my dear Sir, that it might be a matter of violent dislike to you. But remember that this is not of your own voluntary adoption. In your present circumstances business is laid upon you by another, and you are acquitting yourself of your duty to Him when you are giving your time and your attention to it. I can conceive a man who felt more happiness in the duties of the closet than in those of society, to be making a sacrifice of principle to inclination in the very midst of religious exercises.

Do feel that you are religiously employed when you are giving your faithful attention to the matters of the office; and instead of thinking that religion is a kind of secret indulgence to be snatched by a kind of stealth from the ordinary affairs of life, do make a study of spreading religion over all your daily path, and then will you realize the habit of walking before God *all the day long*, of doing all things to His glory.

"Thirdly,—On the subject of resolutions I postpone many things to our future conversation; but sure I am, that there are many things which God desires to be done, and which you could resolve upon the doing of, and actually do, on the inferior principle of prudence and interest. It delights me to think that on this ground you have already made such progress, and so signalized yourself. But this delight would all vanish did I see you stop short and rest satisfied with a victory over the grosser profligacies of vice, and the attainment of obedience in its externals and its decencies; and I can scarcely say how much I feel drawn to you by your last note, when you talk of your higher aspirings—when you tell me of your attempts to realize the presence of God in the hours of business, and of your dissatisfaction with yourself at the want of an entire and successful accomplishment.

"Fourthly,—Do, my dear Sir, hearken diligently when I say, that now is the time for casting yourself more than ever on the sufficiency of Christ. Forgetfulness of God is such an act of spiritual disobedience, that it is said in the Psalms—'They who forget God shall be turned into hell.' You complain of this forgetfulness. You may be mindful of Him more than others, but you are not mindful of Him up to the extent of His claim on you. You are therefore short of His glory; you are a debtor to His law to do the whole law, and this debt you are *never discharging*. It is accumulating every hour upon you; and with a right sense of this you must be an humbled, and unless you have fled to the refuge set before you, you must be a disquieted and alarmed sinner. Now you may say that you have taken up with the Saviour already, and that all this is therefore gone by. But, my dear Sir, this taking up with Him as the ground of your acceptance with God is not an act of the mind which starts into perfection at once. It is a growing sentiment. It is getting fresh accessions from the experience of every day. Every recollection of your failures and your shortcomings should be giving it new strength—should be shutting you more up unto the faith of His atonement—should be giving you a livelier and a more affecting sense of your extreme and constant need of Him. And though I meant to expatiate on another topic, which I find I must postpone for want of room, I will barely state to you that, as it is affronting Christ not to put immediate faith in His testimony, so it is your duty *now* to trust Him ; it is lingering about your acceptance of His offer not to accept of it at this moment. He makes you welcome to all the benefits of His Mediatorship at this instant of time ; and when there is strength offered along with forgiveness, be assured, my dearest friend, that when what is lacking in your faith is perfected, you will know what it is to rejoice in the Lord, and to combine with great quietness and great confidence a rapid and shining progress in the new obedience of the gospel.

" I have written the above in a very great hurry, and I fear that it may darken instead of edifying. I fear you may think it written in a tone of reproof. This is so far from intended that I look on your mind as in a more satisfying state by your last than I ever before observed it. I am greatly interested in you. You fill up a large space in my heart. My prayers, I trust, will never cease to ascend daily in your behalf to our common Father. Do, my dear Sir, minister more and more comfort to me by your growing decision and steadiness. May light and love and peace take up their firm establishment in your bosom; and may all the graces of the Spirit form you into one complete image of Him who is set before us as an example. —Yours, with warmest affection, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Towards the close of January an illness which did not for some weeks stop the forenoon interviews, occasionally prevented Mr. Smith from going to Charlotte Street on the Sabbath evenings. "My ever dearest Sir," so writes Mr. Chalmers on an occasion of this kind, "I have now given up all hope of your coming, and do feel your absence to be a blank to me. I am reading 'Law,' and find him very powerful; and I have now sat down to the work of having that communion with my dear Christian friend in writing which I expected to have in the still sweeter exercise of talking face to face, and of exchanging animated converse on a theme to which I trust we shall ever be bound by one warm and affectionate sympathy. Our week-day conversation and letters will, I trust, have ever much of Sabbath unction pervading them; but there is one point of distinction I should like to establish between the seventh day and the remaining six. Let all argument if possible be banished from our Sabbath converse, and let us know what it is on that day to fill up an hour not with treating religion so much as an intellectual subject, but as an affair of the heart, a matter of feeling and of devotion, that love to God may be made to burn within us, and the hope of an eternal Sabbath to elevate our hearts, and a refining purity of thought and of purpose to sanctify our every desire, and faith in the great Redeemer to be working all its peaceful influences upon our souls, and the contemplation of His bright example to be likening us to Him more and more, and the whole effect of our happy Sabbath hour to send each of us to his separate employment in that frame and temper of heaven which fills the whole man with superiority to the vanities of the world, and a mild quiet benevolent tenderness for all who live in it.

"Agreeably to this I shall not take up the remainder of my time with any topic of observation whatever, but recollecting that Dr. Samuel Johnson often wrote his prayers, and found this a more powerfully devotional exercise than if he had said them, I intreat my dear friend's indulgence if I do the same at present; and as a blessing on that tender intimacy to which God, who turneth the heart of man whithersoever He will, has turned our hearts, is the great burden of my present aspiration to heaven, I send it to you that you may, if you approve, join in it, and that the promise may be realized in us, that if two shall agree touching anything they shall ask it shall be done unto them."

"O God, do Thou look propitiously on our friendship. Do Thou purify it from all that is base, and sordid, and earthly. May it be altogether subordinated to the love of Thee. May it be the instrument of great good to each of our souls. May it sweeten the path of our worldly pilgrimage; and after death has divided us for a season, may it find its final blessedness and consummation at the right hand of Thine everlasting throne.

"We place ourselves before Thee as the children of error. O grant that in Thy light we may clearly see light: for this purpose let our eye be single. Let our intention to please Thee in all things be honest. With the childlike purpose of being altogether what Thou wouldst have us to be, may we place ourselves before Thy Bible, that we may draw our every lesson, and our every comfort out of it. O that Thy Spirit may preside over our daily reading of Thy word, and that the word of our blessed Saviour may dwell in us richly in all wisdom.

"O save us from the deceitfulness of this world. Forbid that any one of its pleasures should sway us aside from the path of entire devotedness to Thee. Give us to be vigilant, and cautious, and fearful. May we think of Thine eye at all times upon us; and may the thought make us to tremble at the slightest departure from that narrow way of sanctification which leads to the house of our Father who is in heaven.

"We desire to honour the Son even as we honour the Father. We act in the presumption of our hearts when we think of placing ourselves before Thee in our own righteousness. Draw us to Christ. Make Him all our desire and all our salvation. Give remission of sins out of His blood. Give strength out of His fulness; and crowned with all might may we not only be fellow-helpers to each other, but may the work of turning sons and daughters unto righteousness prosper in our hands. All we ask is for the sake of Thy Son and our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen."

By the end of February Mr. Smith's illness had assumed a more alarming aspect—not yet confining him entirely to the house, but exciting the darkest apprehensions that consumption had begun its fatal work. Anxiety now fanned affection; and not content with frequent visits, almost daily do such letters as the following pass from Charlotte Street to Stockwell:—

"*February 22d*, 1816.—I am so heavy and unwell that I am not to study this forenoon; but if I can get released from a round of visiting to-day, I mean to try an excursion on horseback, in which case I shall go to Shieldhall, and also pay a visit to my friend Mr. Heywood. I purpose, however, returning before dinner, and hope, if you cannot come to me, to be in sufficient strength and spirits for enjoying your much loved society in your house in the evening. It is remarkable, that when all taste for other employment has abandoned me, I still find relief in the work of unbosoming myself to you. I can assure you that frequent and friendly conversation with you, ever rising to higher degrees of Christian faith and purity and elevation, is a mighty ingredient with me of this world's happiness. May God turn this taste to such an account as that a happiness so mingled and so imperfect, and lying so open to interruption from the fearfulnesses of each of the parties in this dark scene of existence, may, after death has suspended it, reappear in a brighter and more enduring scene, and be fed with its immediate supplies from the throne of that God who will stand revealed to the pure in heart, and will dispense a blessedness which knows no alloy and shall experience no termination. I have not yet had heart either for my chapter or my prayer, but I trust that God will be present with me now that I am going to them. I shall pray for you I trust with a Christian tenderness."

"*February* 23*d*, 1816.—I mean to suspend our ordinary subject, having room for no other theme than that which is suggested by the fulness of a heart that never in the whole period of our short but most interesting acquaintance felt so much tenderness associated at the same moment with so much tranquillity.

"My heart is greatly enlarged towards you, and there is not a more congenial exercise for it at this moment than to pour it out before my high and my heavenly Witness in the fervency of prayer, that He will cause you to abound more and more—that He will keep up and increase the supplies of that purifying influence by which you have hitherto been preserved from falling—that He will bless the common tenderness which fills each of our hearts and knits us together in a friendship far more endearing than any I ever before experienced—that He will Christianize the whole of this friendship, and direct it to the love of himself, and make it the instrument of a growing knowledge of and attachment to His sacred word, and render us wise unto salvation, reducing us to the lowliness of little children, and making us to derive all our hopes of acceptance from the merits of His Son, and all our progress in sanctification from that kind and free Spirit which will never be refused to our humble, earnest, and persevering prayers.

"You have eased me and comforted me, and what I now ask is, that you will pray for me. I have great need, my dear Sir, of all that your intercessions can do for me. I desire to be more and more humbled into a sense of my own nothingness; and sure I am that until I am so, God will disappoint all my vain expectations, and show me that it is only when He taketh unto himself His great power that many are turned from sin unto righteousness."

"*February* 25*th*, 1816.—I fear from your non-appearance this day that in spite of your brother's favourable account of you, you may have felt yourself worse. May God speedily restore you to health, and may we both be spared to see much of His goodness, and to praise His holy name, and to serve His cause, and to war it in our respective spheres against every power of darkness, and to give much energy, derived by prayer from His Spirit, to the great work of turning many from the power of Satan unto God.

"I pray that you may be more and more shut up into the faith of Christ, that you may know how much strength is given in the mere act of resting upon Him, and how the quietness of a conscious reconciliation with God is the fittest attitude for receiving power to become one of His children. Now this reconciliation is unto all and upon all who believe. The tidings of great joy do not have their right and their intended effect upon you if they do not make you joyful at the first moment of their import being understood. After being told that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin, and that this privilege is given to all believers, what is it that you wait for ere you look upon yourself as a justified person in the sight of God? Must you first qualify for the privilege by obedience, and then believe? No; believe, and take the comfort of the thing believed, immediately; and believing all the testimony on the same principle that you believe any part of it, to the comfort of the promises add obedience to the precepts, and be assured that this obedience will go on with a vigour and animation after the comfort is established, which it could never reach out of Christ and away from Him. You will then serve God *without fear*, in righteousness and holiness all the days of your life.

"What should have been devotion I have turned into a dissertation. I miss our Sabbath prayer this night; and in lieu of it let me express it as the earnest topic of my supplication, that the Holy Ghost may teach you and guide you unto all truth—that you may every day become wiser unto salvation—that peace and joy and progressive virtue and approving Heaven may accompany your every footstep in the path of this world—and that we, my dearest and best loved friend I have on earth, may walk side by side through the narrowness of that way which leads to the heavenly inheritance."

"*Stirling Road, Feb. 26th*, 1816.—I must again be permitted to deviate from our ordinary topic; and the occasion of my doing so is to me most deeply affecting—an occasion which, I trust, will take an effectual hold of your own heart, and be the mean of helping forward your progress to the realms of everlasting peace.

"I trust, and am sure, that on the day on which my dear Mr. Smith is reading this letter, his views are shooting far beyond the objects which engross the desires of ordinary men on their attainment of majority; that the world and its interests are not the only, and I hope not the chief or habitual topics of his contemplation; that he is looking upon that day which many call a step in human life as a step in his eternal history; and God grant that it may be a memorable epoch in that mighty line which commenced with the infancy of His being, and stretches forward without limit to that blissful futurity which is darkened by no sorrow, and knows no termination.

"Do, my dearest Sir, on this day give yourself anew and unreservedly to God. Do bring to Him for forgiveness all the sins and infirmities and errors of the life that is past. Do approach His throne with the holy purpose of a firm devotedness to His will in all things. Do feel yourself a most worthless and alienated creature up to the hour in which you are reading this; and throw yourself on that grace which, shed upon you through Christ the Mediator, can alone enable you to take your firm and decisive march from this day as the starting-point of a new and heavenly career—as the entrance into the new life of the new creature.

"Will you forgive me, my excellent and aspiring fellow-Christian, if I venture to state one point in which we both are deficient and have much before us. We are not yet sufficiently humbled into the attitude of dependence on the Spirit of God. We do not yet bow with enough of veneration at the name of Christ for sanctification. There is still a very strong mixture of self-sufficiency and self-dependence in our attempts at the service of God. I speak my own intimate experience when I say that, as the result of all this presumption, I feel as if I had yet done nothing. I can talk and be impressed and hold sweet counsel with you; but in the scene of trial I am humbled by my forgetfulness of God, by my want of delight in the doing of His commandments, by the barrenness of all my affections, by my enslavement to the influences of earth and of time, by my love to the creature, by my darkness and hardness and insensibility as to the great matters of the city that hath foundations, of the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

"In these circumstances, let us flee for refuge to the hope set before us in the gospel. Let us keep closer by Christ than we have ever yet done. Let us live a life of faith on the Son of God. Let us crucify all our earthly affections, and by the Spirit mortify the deeds of the body, that we may live.

"And oh that this ceaseless current of years and of seasons were teaching us wisdom—that we were numbering our days—that we were measuring our future by our past—that we were looking back on the twinkling rapidity of the months and the weeks which have already gone—and so improving the futurity that lies before us, that when death shall lay us in our graves, we may both, on the morning of the resurrection, emerge into a scene of bliss too rapturous for conception, and too magnificent for the attempts of the loftiest eloquence."

March opened with brightening prospects of recovery, but closed amid greater darkness and uncertainty than ever. On Sabbath the 24th, Mr. Chalmers was to preach before the magistrates of the city. Excited groups of expectant auditors were already hurrying along the Trongate, hastening to secure their places in the church; and it was within half-an-hour of the time when the bell was to summon the preacher into the crowded sanctuary, that he sat down and penned the following lines:—

"I cannot resist the opportunity of Mrs. C., who goes to inquire about you. May this be a precious Sabbath to you. If languid and weak, and unable to put forth much strength in the work of drawing near to God, may He put forth the strength of His resistless arm, and draw near unto you. May He benignantly reveal Himself to you as your gracious God and reconciled Father in Jesus Christ our Lord. Oh! may the consoling truths of the gospel be felt by you, and rejoiced in; and may you know what it is to have great peace and great joy in believing on Him who poured out His soul unto the death for you. Let Christ be on the foreground of all your religious contemplations. Feel that you are safely shielded from the wrath of God in the better righteousness of Him who yielded for you a pure and spotless obedience; and never, never let go your mild and pleasing and tender and confiding impressions of all that love which the kind and willing Saviour bears to you. You may have much pain and weakness: look on it all as coming from God. Feel yourself in His hand, my dearest friend, and this feeling will temper all your sufferings, and sweeten them all. I do God great injustice, for I feel that I do not rise to an adequate conception of His loving-kindness and tender mercy. O may this sweet assurance of God be more quietly and firmly established in your heart every day, and on this day may there be much of the comfort and tranquillity of Heaven's best influences to make you tranquil and happy. Expect me during the interval."

The projected visit was paid during the interval; the brilliant discourse on the Restlessness of Human Ambition was delivered before a prodigious multitude in the afternoon; but over all the excitement and fatigue the haunting anxiety still prevailed, and this evening billet was despatched:—

"*Six*, P.M.—Tell me by the servant *verbally* how you are. May the everlasting arms be round about and underneath you. May you have much peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. May you, throughout all the varieties of your condition, be enabled to display the triumphs of faith; and however you are, may the blessed assurance of your reconciled God ever be present in your heart to strengthen and to sustain you.—My very dear Sir, yours, with much regard, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Not unfrequently Mr. Chalmers took his manuscript over with him to Stockwell, and carried on the composition of his sermon in the sick-room. A friend who one day found him so employed expressed his wonder that he could compose in such a situation. "Ah! my dear Sir," said Mr. Chalmers, casting a look of profound and inexpressible sympathy towards the sufferer, "there is much in mere juxtaposition with so interesting an object."

The sacrament was now close at hand, and those evening hours which Mr. Chalmers had been accustomed to spend with his friend, now so weak and apparently dying, had to be devoted to the examination of intending communicants; but snatching intervals which few ministers either would or could so use, he sustained the intercourse.

"*March 26th.*—I have seen seven people, and am now sitting in expectation of the eighth and last. I am never more cordially exercised than when I turn myself to the work of addressing you. Great is my friendship for you—rooted and firm is my regard for you; and with whatever feelings you may receive these reiterated professions of my unalterable attachment, I feel a very great pleasure in pouring them forth out of the fulness of a heart that is most tenderly and sincerely devoted to you; and I trust that with all the kindness you have ever shown me, you will also bear with me in my declarations of a love that I cannot disguise, and will never, never dismiss from my bosom.

"I have had less fatigue this evening than last. The people on the whole not so interesting, though there be three that I think remarkably well of. Oh! that the kingdom of God were at length to come, and His will to be done on earth as it is done in heaven!—that an effectual barrier were at length raised against the sweeping tide of wickedness that has spread so widely over the face of society!—and that in looking around us, instead of being sickened and distressed at every turn by the report of grievous and multiplied offences, the eye were refreshed by the spectacle of virtuous parents and dutiful children and ingenuous youth, and earnest, aspiring, devoted Christians among all ranks of society. Oh! that God may manifest Himself more and more to your soul! Do contemplate Him as God *in Christ.* Do glory in nothing but in the Cross of Him who died for you. Do be conversant with the realities of an eternal world; and rest assured that you cannot be more happy in the prospect of heaven than those who are there now are happy in the prospect of having you to swell their numbers. Oh! what benignity and love reign in that place of blessedness! And how delightful to think, that by taking up with Christ, and cherishing through Him the hope of glory, and holding fast this confidence, and keeping it even unto the end, we shall not only sleep in Him, but be raised by Him to the triumphs of an unfading inheritance. May God, if it be His blessed will, prolong your stay amongst us—may He bless your affectionate friends with the continuance of your much loved society—may He spare you an example to a world that can ill spare any of the little flock who lie so thinly scattered among its wilds; and, above all, may He minister to you in His good time an abundant entrance into His everlasting kingdom.—Yours, most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Charlotte Street, March 27th,* 1816.—I am left alone at the interval between my fourth and fifth person, and fondly recur to you. I have had one young man of good promise, and a father of a family, on whom I trust a good work of grace is decidedly going on. Oh! how humble I should feel when I think of my own extreme deadness and want of spirituality; and I am well assured that nothing but a leaning on Christ will ever carry me to repose or to any sufficiency of actual attainment. Do, my dearest Sir, so lean. He lets Himself down to you for this very use and purpose. He likes you to rest upon Him the whole burden of your dependence. When sickness and languor come upon you, He knows your frame and pities you, and excuses your weakness; but if even then a faint thought of the Saviour gives one gleam of comfort to your heart, He puts it down to the account of your faith, and He will minister strength to you, and bear you up under all the darknesses and difficulties of a trial which He himself hath experienced.

"Be not afraid, only believe. Feel yourself encompassed by the everlasting arms of a God who has no pleasure in your death; and oh! look upon Him in the face of Jesus Christ, in the face of Him who came not to destroy men's lives but to save them, in the face of Him who lifts a call which He circulates through the world—Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth. Oh! my dearest Sir, He is your friend, He is the friend of sinners, He speaks to us all from heaven, and looks at us with a tenderness I cannot describe or imitate. He did not shed His blood in vain; and oh that its cleansing and its peace-speaking power were felt by you in all its preciousness. His pardon is free, His Spirit is free, His purchased immortality is free—all preparations for this immortality are His free gifts to those who believe. Do make yourself wholly over to Him, and you shall be wholly His. He will undertake your whole care and provide for the whole cure of that guilt and helplessness which you put into His hand. Be assured you are in your best attitude when you are thus rejoicing in Christ, making Him your refuge and your hiding-place, telling Him all you want and all you feel deficient in, giving Him to understand that you are counting on Him as your friend, and trusting that through His powerful mediation all will be forgiven, and all will be purified and made meet for the inheritance.

"It is not necessary that this be pleaded with a fatiguing energy. He knows what is in you. He knows what you need before you ask it. Your feeling of this need, though silent and unexpressed by language, is seen by Him; and the direction of your wishes to Him, as your all-sufficient helper, will not be lost on that kind Saviour who confounds none who put their trust in Him.

"I feel the truest satisfaction in ministering any one thing that pleases you. I love to call on you; I am happy in the act of writing you; I am ever and anon thinking of you; and my poor unworthy prayers rise occasionally to heaven in your behalf. But let us not trust in human friendships. Let our rejoicing be this, that the great Intercessor liveth, and that He is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God through Him."

"*March 28th*, 1816.—I am just now between my second and third visitant, and have been much refreshed by the warm, earnest, and apparently resolved tone of the two I have examined.

"I was interrupted at this point, and have now got over them all. The third one most congenial with myself on some points; and I trust that on this interesting occasion I have had converse with some whom I shall meet in the realms of peace and of perfect virtue. This, my dear Sir, is the only interest that is worth the striving after, and everything else has the most impressive mockery stamped upon it. I doubt not that you in your sick-chamber have had very near and powerful impressions of the littleness of all that is earthly, and the most fervent earthly wish I have is that you may long be spared to us, and come back to the world with all the freshness of those feelings and lessons you have gathered from the chastening hand of God, and be a burning light and an eminent example of all that is pure, and pious, and honourable in the midst of a perverse and crooked generation; and as you have heretofore been my attached friend, I pray God that you may be preserved to me as my kind adviser, and my zealous fellow-worker in the great cause of turning others to righteousness, and the mild, judicious, tranquil composer of all my constitutional violence, the partner of my every thought, the sweetener of my every care, the companion of my familiar hours, and my fellow-worshipper in the closet when we offer to the throne of God our united aspirations.

"But, oh! it is wise to shoot a-head of all earthly anticipations—to pierce the dark barrier which separates time from eternity—to possess our whole hearts with the realities of another world, and instead of looking on the region beyond the grave as a wilderness or land of darkness, to look on it as peopled with all that can delight or interest a mind animated with the best affections and directed to the best objects.

"The idea of eternal life should ever suggest to us the idea of Him who alone has the Word and the gift of it. I purpose to make Christ Jesus the great burden of all my communications. It is by our honouring Him that the Father is honoured. It is by looking to Him that we receive forgiveness and sanctification. It is for the excellency of the knowledge of Him that Paul counted all but loss. Without Him you can do nothing. And oh! my dearest Sir, lean upon Him, and then it is impious and unbelieving and distrusting His promises and dishonouring His power, not to feel that you are safe. May God enlighten you more and more. May He minister great comfort to you, and reveal to you more and more every day of the preciousness of the Saviour."

Although the Thursday on which the last of these notes was written was one of peculiarly severe suffering, Friday not only brought relief, but treacherously raised once more the hope of friends. Upon report of the favourable change Mr. Chalmers writes on the evening of that day:—" Could we only lift the veil which hides from our eye of flesh the designs and the doings of the Almighty, what a deep interest it would confer on everything that befalls us! The minutest turn in the movements of that vast machinery over which He presides takes place by His will and for His purpose. He had a something to accomplish by all the pain of yesternight, and by all the relief which you now experience from it; and one of the finest results that can happen from events is for us to look on events as His, and on duties as ours—to extract a sentiment of piety from every one step and occurrence in our history—and be it in the shape of resignation, or thankfulness, or virtuous resolve, or a higher tone of steady and determined abhorrence of all that is evil, it is our part ever to be plying the throne of God with such offerings.

" Should He be pleased to bring you round again to our wonted opportunities of converse—to place us side by side on those walks where we heretofore have held sweet counsel together—to surround us with the glories of that magnificent summer which He spreads in rich and varied colouring over His beauteous and innumerable landscapes—to give to each of us the vigorous inhalation of health, and restore my dearest friend to the duties and the enjoyments of society—should this turn out to be His event, oh! how weighty and how incumbent will be our duty to praise the name of the Lord for all His goodness to us—to magnify His cause, and do all that in us lies to spread His kingdom among men—to consecrate our whole lives to the honour of their great Preserver—and seeing that it is by receiving the Son that the Father is honoured, to attach ourselves more firmly than ever to our dear Redeemer, and make Him all our desire and all our salvation.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

For a few days Mr. Chalmers was now himself an invalid. On the 31st, the Sabbath which preceded his communion, he was unable to officiate. Whilst another was conducting for him the public services of the sanctuary he thus consecrated part of the forenoon hour to the work of instruction and comfort :—" I wish to fill this ere the interval when I expect your brother. My gratitude to God is very strong for the portion of health and of recovery He has been graciously pleased to deal out to you ; and I have to entreat that, on this solemn day of the remembrance of a risen Saviour, your eye may be often directed to that celestial sanctuary where He sits at His Father's right hand to advocate your cause—to plead His own merits for your forgiveness—to pour upon you out of His fulness—to give you abundantly those two precious privileges for the dispensation of which He was exalted a Prince and a Saviour, even repentance and the remission of sins ; and oh ! that this chastisement of a wise God had the effect of drawing you closer than ever to Him, in whom alone you have reconciliation and strength—to extinguish in your heart any remains that may have lodged in it of that independent natural religion which disowned Christ, and was blind to the excellency of the knowledge of Him—and to subordinate your every feeling and every opinion to the great Mediator, that you may feel all your security to be in the everlasting righteousness which He hath brought in, and all your fitness for right and acceptable obedience to be in that washing of regeneration and that renewing of the Holy Ghost which is shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. (Titus iii. 5.) There is a text which some of our older divines have turned to very substantial account—(Psalm lxxxvii. 7)—' All my springs are in Thee.' It is applied by them to Christ ; and sure I am, that so applied, it incloses a sentiment which, if fixed in the heart and proceeded on in the conduct, would cause to emanate from its powerful influence all the grace of a holy walk, all the joys of a heavenly contemplation. Give me a man actuated by such a sentiment as this, and there is not one cloud of despondency between him and God. He draws comfort out of the wells of salvation. His hope is linked with that great work of redemption of which Jesus Christ is the Author and the Finisher, and is as vigorous and clear as is his faith in the entireness and sufficiency of that work. But more than this, his obedience is as much superior to that of a mere natural aspirer after virtue, as the strength dealt out by Him to whom all power is committed both in heaven and in earth is superior to the impotency of corrupt, feeble, fallen, and degenerate man. The believer has all his springs in Christ ; and hence a joy as full as the sufficiency of the Saviour, and a walk as pure as the power of the Sanctifier. Do, my dear Sir, have this great and exalted Redeemer full in the eye of your mind. It is He in whom your life is. It is He through whom you stand on clear ground with the God whom you have offended. It is He through whom God will enter with you into peaceable conversation ; and be assured, my dearest friend, that in the act of doing honour to the Son, you please and propitiate the Father by whom He is glorified. * * *

"I am now getting interrupted by interval callers, and must come to a close. * * * I will not say that I shall see you before Tuesday ; but let us ever feel resigned and thankful in the hands of a God who has His own purpose with us both, and whose counsel respecting each of us must stand amid the multitude of all our desires. My callers have left me, but my bell is ringing every half-minute with inquirers. Do, my dear Sir, pray for me. It is my earnest prayer that your soul may this day experience much of a Sabbath frame, and that you may know what it is to feel all the tranquil sweetness of Sabbath contemplations. Do not fatigue yourself. God will answer your wish for the light of His countenance by revealing Himself to you without any violent stirring up of yourself on your part to lay hold of Him. He will delight your heart with the pleasing and comfortable suggestions of His Spirit, and give you great peace and elevation and joy."

The sacramental week brought its many ministerial visitors and its multiplied ministerial work, but it could not wholly stop this singular correspondence. At five o'clock on the Tuesday evening Mr. Chalmers wrote—" My time from one o'clock to this hour has been most completely filled up with callers and miscellaneous work ; but I trust I shall have some leisure now to fill a sheet for you. The most interesting call I have had is from Rev. Mr. Grey, who is one of the mildest and most spiritual men I ever met with—a fine unction of Heaven running through all his conversation, and a most enviable tranquillity of mind under all the annoyances of society—a point on which it were better for my frame of spirit that I could resemble him, though perhaps the violence of my antipathy to the senselessness of an oppressive conformity to fashion may be practically the mean of keeping me at a greater distance from the frivolities and the time consuming employments of this present generation.

" I am better, but there is still a lingering of lumbago. I have got many recipes for it ; and the honest folks of Glasgow have been pouring in such a multitude of specifics, that had I taken the one-half of them I should not have been able to crawl for six weeks. Among the rest my beadle, John, told me of a wright, an acquaintance of his, who had been greatly afflicted with the same complaint, and had a cure to propose. I desired him to call between one and two o'clock, when in he came, a fat, well-conditioned looking person, and proposed a blister round the whole amplitude of my back, where the disease is situated. This I begged leave to decline; and have since been entertained with the mention of others in the shape of pills, and external applications of hartshorn, and plasters of mustard, and rubbings of turpentine, and triplicate coverings of flannel, and last, though not least, a process of ironing, with as great heat as was consistent with the feelings of the patient. I have reason, however, to be thankful that I am greatly better, and earnestly hope that I shall be able to see my dear friend in the course of to-morrow. I augured much good from the slight rains of yesternight and to-day; but the wind still keeps in the east, and the penetrating cold is unfavourable for us both. I was a good deal damped by the report of your yesternight, and have not yet heard Dr. Cleghorn's account of you. Do, my dearest Sir, keep tranquil. I know your constitutional mildness; but I trust you have within you a deeper foundation of peace. I have been reading since I saw you in the Colossians, and have had a more thorough possession of the essential importance of Christ as our foundation than I ever recollect before. Oh! it is a wondrous statement, that 'in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.' Who would ever think, after this, of seeking after God by another road, or in another direction? No man cometh aright unto the Father but by Him; and in Him we have all that is to be found or sought for in God, for 'in Him dwelleth all the fulness of God.' Never separate, then, a looking unto Jesus—a faith in the sufficiency of His doings for a sinful world—a reposing sense of the power of His intercessions with that Being of whom He says, 'I and the Father are one'—an unshaken confidence in the honesty of this announcement, 'that whosoever cometh unto me shall in *no wise* be cast out,'—never separate any of them from that act by which you draw near unto God, and then will you draw near with full assurance of heart—then will God draw near unto you through the channel of His own appointed Mediator

—then may you enter into peaceful conference with the Lawgiver whom you had offended—then may you cast off all suspicion and all dismay in His holy presence—then may you go to Him with the affectionate confidence of a friend—and then will He, pouring out upon you the spirit of adoption, make you feel to your reconciled Father all the love and joy and trust of one of His children.

" Charles has not been out to-day, and it grieves me that Mrs. Chalmers is too much occupied with sacramental preparations to have it in her power to wait upon you. In this way you will have no personal intercourse with our house this day. Do bear up under the solitude of your present circumstances. Oh ! my dear Sir, know that God has a purpose and a plan in every one of your concernments. He knows what is best for you; and how encouraging the declaration that *all things* work together for good to those who love Him. Pray that your heart, by nature dead and alienated and insensible, may be directed to the love of Him more and more. At every little turn of your history let your mind turn itself to God. In the multitude of the thoughts of that spirit which is ever thinking, let His consolations delight you. Know that you are in a Father's hand, a Father who will never leave you nor forsake you ; a Father who, for the sake of Christ, is willing to admit you into the number of His chosen ; a Father who has no pleasure in your death, but whose pleasure it is to rejoice over you that He may do you good, to sustain you under all the sickenings, and faintings, and languishings of your earthly disease, to recruit your spirit amid the visitations which afflict your body, to guide the every footstep, and watch over the every vicissitude of your pilgrimage below, and, be it longer or be it shorter, to have a final purpose of mercy concerning you, a purpose which, though matured and established in the mind of the Deity, will not have its personal consummation upon the object till you awaken in the morning of the resurrection, and are satisfied with His likeness, and are placed at His right hand, where there is fulness of joy, and in His presence where there are pleasures for evermore.

"I have written very fast, and scarcely think I can be legible. If made to understand that I am, I may be as rapid as I like in all time coming. I look for your brother to officiate as the bearer of this communication. My wishes and my prayers and my warmest affections are for you. Greatly have I been interested in you."

Again, at eight o'clock on Thursday evening the coveted fellowship is resumed:—"I have never been alone to this moment from one o'clock, and must be ready with this for your servant whom I expect to call. * * * Mr. Hamilton* has at this point come in here to my study from Dr. Scott's sermon. He and my wife are talking while I am writing, and I offer this as my apology for all the incoherency of my future train. Did you ask me what you could say to me within the shortest space of time which is of most importance for me to know, I would answer, Look to Jesus. Why, my dear Sir, this is the Gospel attitude, and it is an attitude in which He will not fail to meet you, and recognise you as His, and undertake your cause, and represent you to the Father as another guilty and dependent and weak creature, who has thrown himself upon the revealed Mediator, and in the powerful appeal He makes to His merits and His atonement, will He obtain for you at the hand of God acceptance and reconciliation and forgiveness, and all needful grace for the reformation of your heart, and the making you wholly meet for the inheritance of the saints.

"Now what I want you practically and in plain earnest to do is to look full upon this great agent between God and a guilty world—to throw yourself more dependingly upon Him than you have ever yet done—to fill and possess your mind more entirely than ever with the completeness and the sufficiency of Christ—to do homage to Him as all in all—to bow at His name for holiness as well as for pardon—to draw from Him as your only fountain, and rest on Him as your only foundation. Oh! what a rich, what a thoroughly furnished provision does a man carry with him to eternity, who goes there thus hoping, thus trusting, thus believing, and, of course, thus obtaining all these promises of grace here and glory hereafter, which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus.

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* The Rev. Dr. Hamilton of Strathblane.

" I have just received ——'s note, and observe with great satisfaction that you have had an easy afternoon."

Shortly after this communion Mr. Chalmers sought relief and recruital in an excursion to Fifeshire. As Mr. Smith was now somewhat better, that it might interest and amuse him, journal letters from which the following extracts are presented, were addressed to him.

" *Kirkaldy, April* 18*th*, 1816.—I am not yet thoroughly rested, but am certainly getting on in vigour, though I believe it will require all the intended time of my excursion to recruit me completely. I am much struck with the tranquillity of the streets here, but this is merely comparative. However, I do enjoy the opportunities and the quietness of the place. This has not been so successful a forenoon of composition as yesterday. This is a very capricious matter, depending not merely on the accidental mood of the mind, but on the accidental strain of observation and sentiment on which I may happen to fall. Oh! it is wise and pious to look up to God in all our works and in all our ways—to feel that a man receiveth nothing unless it be given him from heaven—to sink and absorb self in the glory and sufficiency of God, to be ever looking toward His sanctuary as the quarter out of which all help cometh and all light is made to emanate in the soul of the believer. I trust I am feeling a greater desire towards Him ; and amid all my imperfections, and all my waywardness, and all those melancholy blanks of my existence over which there is spread the forgetfulness of God and alienation from God, it is my prayer that He may draw me nearer unto Himself, that He may make the light of His countenance more to shine upon me, that He may recall and rescue me from the banishment of nature, and give me, through grace, all the joys and all the exercises of a near, confiding, and affectionate fellowship.

" I have been much disappointed again in the weather of this day. We had snow over night, and in the morning it was somewhat milder, but towards mid-day it got very cold, and for these four or five hours there has been an incessant fall of snow. I pray that this may at length mitigate the weather for you. I speak with an uncertainty about you which I feel to be painful."

" *April* 19*th*.—I mean to leave the small fragments of the other side to the evening, and in the meantime I trust to bear you in my heart all the day long. Oh ! how delightful to think that this is the very thing which the great Intercessor does with all who love Him in sincerity. He knows our frame. He has a compassion for our infirmities. He is a merciful High-Priest, and touched with an earnest sensibility in behalf of us all. He bends in love and benignity over us. He is our advocate with God the Father; and as His errand on earth was not to destroy men's lives but to save them, so His employment in heaven is to minister to His people all the helps and all the preparations which lead to life everlasting.

" I have had on the whole a pleasant and a successful day, and am making distinct progress in strength. Oh ! it is bitterly cold; and my dear friend hangs upon me wherever I go. I am greatly disappointed in not hearing of you."

"*April 20th,* 1816.—I feel the pain of unsated anxiety respecting you. The habit of your society, and the feeling of your friendship, have become part of my constitution; and I shall ever look back on all the circumstances of the origin and progress of our acquaintance as among the most memorable and interesting events of my history. I trust that there is something more than the mere romance of attachment in all this, that good has and that good will come out of it, that the intimacy begun on earth will be perfected in heaven, and that in that holy and happy place all the joys of friendship will be purified from the alloy of distressing apprehensions, and from the pain of offensive and deadening exposures, and be refined by the mixture of all that is sublime in contemplation and all that is tender and elevated in piety."

"*April 22d,* 1816.—Let Mrs. Chalmers know that I was delighted to see the first man from Kilmany parish I had seen for nine months, that is, Mr. Anderson of Star—that old Mr. C—— of Rathillet is dying—that I walked from Kirkaldy to Duniface, about eight miles, on Saturday afternoon—that I there got a horse, which carried me forward to Pilmuir—that I have been enjoying myself on the verge of a most beautiful landscape, and, what is still more exquisite, that in Mr. Fortune's family here I have revived an early friendship, and am delighted with all that heart and kindness, and aspiring piety, in the bosom of which I have been reposing—that I did not go to the church at Largo, but that I did what I am not sorry for having done, gave a service in the house to about twenty-five people; and she will be much interested to know that Miss Robina Coutts, who is on a visit to her grandfather, was among my auditors. * * *

"I did not carry with me here the book I brought from Glasgow, but trusted my reading to such as I could find when

I came, and the one I fell upon was the English Prayer Book, with which I was greatly refreshed and edified all yesterday. It will determine me, I think, when I get a church so cool that I can afford to prolong the service a little, to have a great deal more reading of the Bible introduced into my public ministrations. The Prayers and—with the exception of two flaws, one in the Burial and the other in the Baptismal service—all the other devout compositions are very admirable, and I do regard the whole composition as an interesting monument of the piety and sound intelligent Christianity of better days.

"The weather was milder yesterday, and I never felt a more delicious calm than when I walked a little at the front of the house, and my eye rested on the beauteous perspective before me, and the whole amplitude of the Forth stretched majestically in front and on each side of me, and the intervening country which lay between the rising ground on which my hospitable lodging stands and the shore, spread itself around me in all the garniture of fields, and spires, and woods, and farms, and villages, and the sun threw its unbounded splendours over the whole of this charming panorama, and the quietness of the Sabbath lent an association of inexpressible delight to these scenes of my nativity and youthful remembrance. If there be so much beauty on the face of this dark and disordered world, how much may we look for in that earth and those heavens wherein dwelleth righteousness!"

"*April* 24*th*, 1816.—I have been hindered three-quarters of an hour, and must not be so improvident in future. My history since the date of my last letter has been a very monotonous one, consisting of a few calls in my native town, a good deal of society with my deaf and infirm parents at home, conversation with an aunt and two sisters, and last, though not least, a pretty severe course of application to study, in virtue of which I have this day completed my third astronomical sermon. I have the prospect before me of lighter employment for a fortnight to come, and feel as if I would be much the better of a little mental repose.

" This day my young friend, Mr. Robert Edie, has come to me from Kilmany, and discharged on me all the news of that beloved neighbourhood. I told you in my last that I was not just so well. I am now greatly better, and trust, through the kindness of my heavenly Protector, to be restored to your much loved society by Saturday-week. I wrote in a tone of impatience about not receiving any letter respecting you on Monday night. Let the people of Charlotte Street know that I got my brother's letter on Tuesday night. * * *

" I have been reading a sermon of Hervey's this day, and I trust it has done me good. It has given me a more reposing frame of confidence in the all-sufficient Saviour; it has exalted my every feeling of security in his better righteousness; and however great a mystery it may appear to an alienated world, I do feel, in point of fact, that the more I feel the faith of forgiveness through the blood of Jesus the more do my temper, and my principles, and my purposes, and my performances, become animated by the Spirit of His mild and holy Gospel. Oh! that I could hold, then, this confidence fast—that I were never to let it slip; but, alas! I am a poor imbecile wavering creature, and have great reason to be humbled at my many sins and my many shortcomings."

"*April* 25*th*, 1816.—*Twelve o'clock.*—I take up my pen thus early that I may be enabled to execute my proposed quantity of correspondence in a more regular and complete manner than I have yet done. I have turned this into an entire letter-writing day. Mr. Robert Edie, who spends the whole of this day with me, and is now in the room beside me, gives me a most tempting opportunity of writing to my various acquaintances in the north of Fife, and I do feel the advantage of a little repose from the severe exertions of the understanding.

"The history of my doings is less diversified, and of course less describable, than at any former period of my excursion; but I may at least tell you how much I have been satisfied with the full and statistical intelligence I have gotten about my dear old parish. Several of them are thriving in the Christian sense of the word, though all of them, from their agricultural connexion, are declining in the worldly sense of it. Alexander Paterson, whose letter to me you may recollect, is going on prospering, and, I trust, to prosper and to shine as a star for ever and ever, by his having turned many to righteousness.

"I am much grieved to learn, by Mr. John's letter, that you are not stronger. It is our duty to cultivate resignation on this subject, so deeply interesting to all of us; and as to your duty, He to whom the desire of your heart is—He in whom there is no condemnation—He who suffered all your pains, and has a fellow-feeling for all your infirmities—He who is abundantly able to succour and to direct, and to uphold you, He will rule your spirit, and carry all its affections upwards unto Himself—He will shed abroad by the Holy Ghost such a love for God, such a relish for the joys of the coming eternity, such a mild and forgiving Spirit towards everything that breathes, such a piety towards the Father of men, and such a benevolence for all His children, as to attune the whole of your inner man to a meetness for the inheritance of the saints. I have been greatly more directed of late to the power that is above me and without me. I have hitherto been too independent in my own strength, and had too much the feeling of a native competency within me to control my own will, and exert an absolute mastery over my own doings. I trust I shall be beaten out of this—that, like Paul, I shall glory in nothing but mine infirmities—that I shall be brought to lie low at the feet of Christ, and have His power to rest upon me; and oh! with what unceasing progress towards perfection should we be enabled to advance did we cast all self-seeking and self-confidence away from us—did we lay the whole burden of our helplessness on Him who is able to bear it—did we consent to be altogether guided by His strength, and be altogether accepted in His pure and unspotted righteousness."

Mr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow on Saturday the 4th of May, and on the following Tuesday, after a blank of many days, makes the following entry in his Journal:—

"*May 7th.*—Have had a two Sabbaths' excursion to the country. The most interesting event was my visit to Pilmuir, where I preached, and the rising appearance of seriousness in that dear family. On my return Thomas Smith was dead. He died on Thursday the 2d of May at eleven o'clock at night, and was buried this day.* I have been thrown into successive floods of tenderness. On Sabbath evening I visited his corpse. —O God, may this afflicting event detach me from time, and carry my thoughts onward to eternity."

On receiving a ring with Mr. Smith's hair, Mr. Chalmers wrote—"I received with much interest the very touching memorial you have sent me of one with whom I have held sweet counsel on earth, and to whose society in heaven I look forward with such a confidence as, I trust, the gospel warrants, and for which the influences of the gospel can alone prepare me." The ring thus sent, after being laid aside for many years, was resumed and worn for a month by Dr. Chalmers during the year which preceded his own death.

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* For the prayer delivered at his funeral, see Appendix B.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF DIVINITY CONFERRED—RENEWED AGITATION ON THE SUBJECT OF PLURALITIES—SERMON BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE CLERGY IN EDINBURGH—DEBATE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1816 ON UNION OF OFFICES—ANECDOTE OF DR. M'CRIE—REMARK OF LORD JEFFREY AFTER HEARING DR. CHALMERS'S SPEECH—SERMON BEFORE THE LORD HIGH COMMISSIONER.

The Directors of the London Missionary Society had requested Mr. Chalmers to preach one of the anniversary sermons on behalf of that institution in May 1815. As his compliance would have removed him for a fortnight from Kilmany, and that at a time when his official connexion with the parish was so near its close, this invitation was respectfully declined. It was renewed, however, in the spring of 1816, and relying upon an acceptance, his brother James had written to Mrs. Morton, announcing the expected visit to the Metropolis. "You are mistaken," was the reply of his better informed correspondent, "as to Thomas being in London this spring. He expects to be a member of the Assembly, and therefore cannot accept of the invitation to preach in London. You will require to change your address in writing to him, and direct no longer to the 'Reverend Mr.,' but to the 'Reverend Doctor Chalmers.' Helen writes me that he was quite astonished, as he had no expectation of it, till one of the Professors called and told him that he had been created Doctor by the *unanimous* voice of the University, which she says is very uncommon, as parties run high there." The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on Mr. Chalmers by the Senate of the University of Glasgow on Wednesday the 21st February, 1816. His election soon afterwards by the Presbytery of Glasgow as one of its representatives for the ensuing General Assembly might not perhaps have hindered his going to London, had it not been for an impending discussion in which he particularly desired to take a part. The General Assembly of 1814 had prohibited the holding of a country living in conjunction with a professor's chair. The prohibition was ostensibly grounded on such an union of offices being a violation of that fundamental law of the Scottish Establishment which binds every minister to reside within his parish. It took the form, therefore, of a declaratory act, by which the Assembly put a definite construction upon the old law of residence, and applied it to a particular case. The friends of pluralities, defeated in the Assembly of 1815 in the attempt which they made to rescind, by a direct vote, the resolutions of the preceding year, had entered upon a new and more hopeful agitation by endeavouring to convince the Church that instead of being merely declaratory, the enactment of 1814 was in reality a piece of altogether new legislation, and that as such it came fairly within the limits of the Act 1697, commonly denominated the Barrier Act, which provides that no new law of permanent obligation shall be made without consulting and obtaining the consent of a majority of Presbyteries. So successful was this agitation, that no fewer than thirty overtures were transmitted to the approaching General Assembly, praying, that because of their not having been sent down to Presbyteries in terms of the Barrier Act, the resolutions of 1814 should be held and declared to be of no force or authority within the Church. While thus the Church was urged to take a decisive step in retreat, Dr. Chalmers's zeal upon this question had been so greatly quickened by his experience of the onerous duties and responsibilities of a city charge, that he longed for the opportunity to urge the Church to take a step in advance, and to abolish not one alone, but all species of pluralities. The General Assembly met in Edinburgh on Friday the 17th May, 1816. On the forenoon of that day Dr. Chalmers preached in St. Andrew's Church, before the Society of the Sons of the Clergy, the same sermon which he had delivered before a similar institution in Glasgow. "Probably no congregation since the days of Massillon," such was the testimony of an auditor, "ever had their attention more completely fixed, their understandings more enlightened, their passions more agitated, and their hearts more improved. When at the conclusion of his discourse, Dr. Chalmers drew the picture of a clergyman's family leaving the place of their nativity and long residence, we observed many an eye suffused with tears."* The debate on the question of pluralities was fixed to be on Wednesday the 22d. From so early an hour as eight o'clock in the morning that part of the Assembly Hall allotted to strangers had been occupied, and when the hour approached for the commencement of the discussion, the crowd had become so great, that it was found necessary to clear the lower galleries in order to furnish accommodation to ministers of the Church not members of the Assembly. In one of these galleries the distinguished biographer of Knox, who, as is well known, was not a member of the Established Church, happened at the time to be sitting. Although advised by many around him to remain, Dr. M'Crie quietly and good-naturedly rose and went out with the others. This fact having been stated to the Assembly, it was at once and unanimously resolved to invite him to return and take his seat along with the members in the body of the house. An officer was instantly despatched in quest of him, and on his return, he was welcomed with feelings of cordiality and respect equally honourable to those who cherished them and to him who was their object. The debate commenced at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and did not close till half an hour before midnight. "I got up," says an interested spectator, "to the window opposite the throne, and stood a complete round of the clock, from 11, A.M., till 11, P.M." The argument was conducted by both parties with great spirit and ability; nor did one unpleasant personality or one unseemly word disturb the lively interest felt by the crowded audience throughout the whole of this twelve hours' debate. Dr. Chalmers rose to address the House immediately after Lord Succoth. Having stated the grounds of his belief that the act of 1814 had done nothing more than put a simple and obvious interpretation on the old law of residence, and having illustrated at once the advantages which had thus been gained, and the perils that would be encountered should they be relinquished—"I would not," he continued,* "again, upon this subject, plunge the Church into the fathomless obscurities of law, or commit the fruit of the battles she has already won to the ocean of a thousand uncertainties. O Moderator, let us have a care not to bedim the conscience and the honesty and the vigorous but plain understanding of our brethren, by running into the dark unknown of legal perplexities and legal arguments. Here is an object that has been practically gained. Here is an abuse that has been practically done away. Here is a something which recommends itself to the common sense of every man as an obvious improvement in the practice of our Church, and as a no less obvious test of her pure and disinterested principles. I would not, Moderator, I would not let ourselves down from this high vantage ground on which the hardly contested victories of former times have so honourably placed us. I should feel the most fearful insecurity were this question, so clear when brought to the light of common principle and common honesty, and so dark when shrouded in the mysticism of technicals and forms—I should feel my every apprehension awakened were this question to be again encountered, with the risk of floundering its uncertain way through amongst the palaverments of law, and the labyrinth of its inextricable reasonings, and the darkness of its bewildering phraseology. I would make no such experiment. I would keep a firm hand upon what I had gotten; and I trust that a third attempt and a third victory over it will give to the law of residence its fixed and conclusive establishment.

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* Extracted from the *Edinburgh Correspondent.*

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* For the earlier part of this Speech, see Appendix C.

" But though there were no risk whatever of losing what we have already acquired; though the proposed law on the subject were to find its triumphant way through amongst all our presbyteries; though it were welcomed through every step of its progress over the face of our establishment; though it was made sure to me at this moment as by the light of prophecy, that it was to find an unimpeded circulation through the land, and the unanimous Assembly of a future year were to set its conclusive seal on this expression of the public sentiments of the Church against the pluralities in question,—yet I recur to my former objection, and aver that such a measure as this carries along with it a sanction little short of an express pronouncement in favour of another set of pluralities no less frequent than the former, and far more hurtful to the moral and religious interests of a larger population;—I allude to the population of the towns where the universities are situated. To enact against the union of professorships with country charges, and not to enact against the union of these professorships with town charges, is to leave half the work of reformation unaccomplished. It is true that you raise a barrier against the violation of residence, but this can be as effectually done by an interpretation of the existing laws on the subject of residence. This is already done if you leave the deed of 1814 unrescinded; and to substitute in the place of that deed such a partial enactment as the one that is now specified, while it presents us with no better security for the residence of the clergy in country parishes, it gives in the university towns a strongly implied license to all the mischief of non-residence. Separate the residence of a clergyman from the duties of a clergyman, and you only present me with the unsubstantial mockery of a name. You may immure the man within the geographical limits of his vineyard, but if you suffer him to be otherwise employed than in the work of it you have positively done nothing. If he know not his people, if he go not round among his people, if he be not the personal acquaintance of his people, then, with all this bodily juxtaposition which residence secures, he is morally and substantially a non-resident amongst them. This is wofully the case in cities, where the minister may live out all his existence in the field that is assigned to him, and multiply his daily rounds through the peopled intricacies which abound in it, and listen to as many calls of duty as time and strength and the other elements of exertion make him able for, and ply his conscientious labours amongst the tenements of the sick and the destitute and the dying, and after many years spent in making his way through the throng of that countless and ever-shifting multitude by whom he is surrounded, be as little known to the vast majority of his people as if—separated from them by the whole diameter of the earth—he took his station at the antipodes. Give a professorship to such a man and you widen still farther this lamentable distance."

Our manuscript copy of this speech breaks off here at the very topic on which the speaker proceeded to lavish the whole power and wealth of his oratory; and we must be content to be informed that " the Reverend Doctor then contended, that if it was necessary to prevent a country minister from holding a professorship on account of his having enough to do in discharging the duties of his office without it, *a fortiori* was it proper to prevent such union in the case of a town minister. This topic was illustrated by the speaker in a torrent of eloquence which seemed to astonish the house, and which has, in the opinion of the best critics and judges, perhaps never been exceeded. He contended that there was no other way of preventing the danger arising to the good order of society from the hostile attacks of an illiterate rabble, who were seen in such crowds at certain hours to issue from their workshops and manufactories, than by the kindly and unwearied attentions of their pastor among them. This would reclaim them when the gibbet with all its terrors would have no effect. Who could view without alarm that neglected population who scowled upon you as you passed with an outlandish stare, who had never spoken to a clergyman in their life, and who were perfectly amazed when he began to put a few plain questions to them in the way of his official duty? There could be no more fitting object than these people for the attention of all who wished well both to religion and to the civil Government. Give not, therefore, a town clergyman any thing else to do beyond his clerical duties. They will be enough—more than enough in most cases. He wished that a petition should be presented to an enlightened and paternal Government, (who, he had no doubt, would listen to it when once they knew the fact, which at present they did not,) to employ some other persons than clergymen to give certificates for the receiving of prize-money and of money granted to soldiers' wives, and numberless things of this sort, which harassed a clergyman, and cut up his time intolerably, which totally secularized him, and converted him from a dispenser of the bread of life into a mere dispenser of human benefits."*

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* Extracted from a pamphlet entitled "Proceedings in the General Assembly on the 22d May 1816, on the Overtures for the Repeal of the Enactment of Assem-

"I know not what it is," said the greatest critic* of our age, after hearing Dr. Chalmers upon this occasion, "but there is something altogether remarkable about that man. It reminds me more of what one reads of as the effect of the eloquence of Demosthenes than any thing I ever heard." When the debate had closed, and the vote was taken, it carried in favour of consulting the Presbyteries, by a majority of 118 to 94. It was found, however, in the General Assembly of the following year, that upon being consulted a majority of Presbyteries had decided against that species of pluralities then in question, which, accordingly, was permanently abolished in the Church.

At his Grace's particular desire Dr. Chalmers had been appointed to preach before the Lord High Commissioner on the Sabbath which immediately succeeded this extraordinary display of eloquence and zeal in the Assembly. At so early an hour as nine o'clock in the morning a crowd began to gather in front of the High Church, which long ere the doors were opened was manifestly greater than any church could contain, so that when entrance at length was given, in one tremendous rush, hazardous to all and hurtful to many, pews and passages were densely filled. It was with the greatest difficulty that the Commissioner, the Judges, and the Magistrates reached their allotted seats. Dr. Chalmers's text on this occasion was—(Ps. viii. 3, 4)—"When I consider Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers, the moon and the stars which Thou hast ordained; what is man that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that Thou visitest him?" Having strained every imagination to the utmost, by carrying his audience up to and abroad over those vast fields of space, teeming with unnumbered worlds, which science had brought within the circle of her discove-

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bly 1814, anent Union of Offices: to which is added, An Account of Dr. Chalmers's Sermon preached before the Lord High Commissioner at His Grace's particular request." Glasgow, 1816. Pp. 24.

* The late Lord Jeffrey.

ries,—"What," asked the preacher, "is this world that we inhabit, in the immensity above and around it, and what are they who occupy it? We give you but a feeble image of our comparative insignificance when we say that the glories of an extended forest would suffer no more from the fall of a single leaf than the glories of this extended universe would suffer though the globe we tread upon and all that it inherits should dissolve." The infidel objection, grounded upon the unlikelihood that upon a theatre so narrow and for a race so insignificant such high and distinguishing attentions should be lavished as those which Christianity describes, was then stated in its full strength. Argument after argument in refutation of it was advanced. "The attention of the auditory," we are informed, "was so upon the stretch, that when the preacher made a pause at the conclusion of an argument, a sort of sigh, as if for breath, was perceptible through the house."* "Thirdly," said Dr. Chalmers, renewing, after one such pause, his theme, "it was the telescope that, by piercing the obscurity which lies between us and distant worlds, put infidelity in possession of the argument against which we are now contending. But about the time of its invention another instrument was formed which laid open a scene no less wonderful, and rewarded the inquisitive spirit of man with a discovery which serves to neutralize the whole of this argument. This was the microscope. The one led me to see a system in every star; the other leads me to see a world in every atom. The one taught me that this mighty globe, with the whole burden of its people and of its countries, is but a grain of sand on the high field of immensity; the other teaches me that every grain of sand may harbour within it the tribes and the families of a busy population. The one told me of the insignificance of the world I tread upon; the other redeems it from all its insignificance, for it tells me that in the leaves of every forest, and in the flowers of every garden, and in the waters of every rivulet, there are worlds teeming with life, and numberless as are the glories of the firmament. The one has suggested to me, that beyond and above all that is visible to man, there may lie fields of creation which sweep immeasurably along, and carry the impress of the Almighty's hand to the remotest scenes of the universe; the other suggests to me, that within and beneath all that minuteness which the aided eye of man has been able to explore, there may lie a region of invisibles; and that, could we draw aside the mysterious curtain which shrouds it from our senses we might there see a theatre of as many wonders as astronomy has unfolded, a universe within the compass of a point so small as to elude all the powers of the microscope, but where the wonder-working God finds room for the exercise of all his attributes, where He can raise another mechanism of worlds, and fill and animate them all with the evidences of His glory. * * * They, therefore, who think that God will not put forth such a power and such a goodness and such a condescension in behalf of this world, as are ascribed to him in the New Testament, because he has so many other worlds to attend to, think of him as a man. They confine their view to the informations of the telescope, and forget altogether the informations of the other instrument. They only find room in their minds for His one attribute of a large and general superintendence, and keep out of their remembrance the equally impressive proofs we have for His other attribute of a minute and multiplied attention to all that diversity of operations, where it is He that worketh all in all. And when I think, that as one of the instruments of philosophy has heightened our every impression of the first of these attributes, so another instrument has no less heightened our impression of the second of them—then I can no longer resist the conclusion, that it would be a transgression of sound argument, as well as a daring of impiety, to draw a limit around the doings of this unsearchable God ; and, should a professed revelation from heaven tell me of an act of condescension, in behalf of some separate world, so wonderful that angels desired to look into it, and the eternal Son had to move from His seat of glory to carry it into accomplishment, all I ask is the evidence of such a revelation ; for, let it tell me as much as it may of God letting Himself down for the benefit of one single province of His dominions, this is no more than what I see lying scattered in numberless examples before me, and running through the whole line of my recollections, and meeting me in every walk of observation to which I can betake myself ; and, now that the microscope has unveiled the wonders of another region, I see strewed around me, with a profusion which baffles my every attempt to comprehend it, the evidence that there is no one portion of the universe of God too minute for His notice, nor too humble for the visitations of His care."

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* From pamphlet already quoted.

"At the end of this passage," one present upon the occasion* has told us, "there ran through the congregation a suppressed but perfectly audible murmur of applause—an occurrence unprecedented in the course of the delivery of a sermon, but irresistible, in order to relieve our highly excited feelings."

The discourse closed with the following manly and noble utterance from this great Christian advocate :—"Anxious as we are to put everything that bears upon the Christian argument into all its lights, and fearless as we feel for the result of a most thorough sifting of it, and thinking, as we do think it, the foulest scorn that any pigmy philosopher of the day should mince his ambiguous scepticism to a set of giddy and ignorant admirers, or that a half-learned and superficial public should associate with the Christian priesthood the blindness and the bigotry of a sinking cause—with these feelings we are not disposed to shun a single question that may be started on the subject of the Christian evidences. There is not one of its parts or bearings which needs the shelter of a disguise thrown over it. Let the priests of another faith ply their prudential expedients, and look so wise and so wary in the execution of them. But Christianity stands in a higher and a firmer attitude. The defensive armour of a shrinking or timid policy does not suit her. Hers is the naked majesty of truth ; and with all the grandeur of age, but with none of its infirmities, has she come down to us, and gathered new strength from the battles she has won in the many controversies of many generations. With such a religion as this there is nothing to hide. All should be above boards. And the broadest light of day should be made fully and freely to circulate throughout all her secrecies. But secrets she has none. To her belong the frankness and the simplicity of conscious greatness ; and whether she has to contend with the pride of philosophy, or stand in fronted opposition to the prejudices of the multitude, she does it upon her own strength, and spurns all the props and all the auxiliaries of superstition away from her."

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* John Marshall, Esq., Advocate.

CHAPTER IV.

EXCURSION IN FIFESHIRE—VISIT TO MR. BROWN AT INVERKEITHING—WALK BY THE SEA-BEACH AT ELIE—COMPLAINTS OF THE GLASGOW WEAVERS—SOCIETY AT ANSTRUTHER—A TWO HUNDRED YEAR ANCESTOR—KILMANY RE-VISITED.

Fatigued with past labour, but with all the fresh feeling of the school-boy on the first day of his summer holidays, Dr. Chalmers left Glasgow on Monday the 15th of July, for a six weeks' visit to Fifeshire. Selecting the route which would carry him most conveniently from house to house of old acquaintance, eschewing all public conveyances, travelling on foot on horseback or in friendly carriage, with luggage sometimes in advance and sometimes in the rear, his progress was, on the whole, but slow, though very crowded and busy-like does each succeeding day appear, as seen in the pages of that faithfully minute chronicle kept on Mrs. Chalmers's behalf. Between Glasgow and Kirkaldy an entire week was consumed—one happy evening having been spent with the venerable Mr. Brown of Inverkeithing, who put into his hands a very complimentary review of his sermon on Peace,* which had recently appeared in the Christian Repository, an Edinburgh periodical.

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* The sermon entitled "Thoughts on Universal Peace" was preached in the Tron Church on Thursday the 18th January, 1816, the day of national thanksgiving. It was first published by John Smith and Son, in a separate form, on the 8th February, 1816, 1000 copies of it selling in four days. A second edition was published on the 5th April. A third edition was issued by Chalmers and Collins some years previous to its embodiment in the 25 volume series, where it will be found in vol. xi. p. 57.

The second week saw him wending along with still slower pace from Kirkaldy to Anstruther, walking whenever it was possible close by the sea-shore, detained, though not unwillingly, one entire " dark scowly" rainy day at Pilmuir, but getting on the day following a " quiet, grey, sober, but steady evening," during which he "skirted it most pleasantly along the delightful beach" at Elie. He reached Anstruther on Friday evening, and was plunged at once into the bosom of that sore conflict of significations and cross-purposes, his own description of which has already been presented to the reader. When he had retired to his own room that night, he spread out his folio page of journal-letter, and thus wrote :—" *Friday evening, half-past ten o'clock.*—I took a turn in the garden before supper. I am in a most pleasurable state of physical sensation, and I trust that God will give me His enabling grace, that I may conduct myself with that temper, patience, and attention which become me. I have sat two hours with my parents this evening, and I trust have acquitted myself to their satisfaction, having answered their every question, and felt a real pleasure in meeting their observations and helping forward the crack with observations of my own." His father's sight had now so entirely failed that he was led to church on Sunday. This office, on the following Sabbath, Dr. Chalmers personally undertook; and as he guided the tottering steps of one who, true to the faith he so long had cherished, still loved to go up to the house of God and to worship in the sanctuary, days bygone arose upon his memory, and he recalled the time when an Anstruther Sabbath had been to him an object of aversion and disgust. His feeling was now changed. " I know nothing," he now writes, " that brings back the olden time more forcibly than an Anstruther Sabbath. Oh! that I could improve it more, and enter with greater life and devotion into its peculiar exercises." He staid the following week with his parents; and many a pleasant walk with one or more "old Anstruther crony" had he to the Billowness. One morning he breakfasted with Mr. Henderson, an ancient borough ally of his father, and who, through their grandmother, Barbara Anderson, was in some indistinct and remote way connected with his family. "Mr. Henderson was most cordial. He has presented me with what appears to give my father high gratification, a massive gold ring, with a large pebble, and big enough for a seal, having a coat of arms over the initials J. A., which I am informed is John Alexander, my great-great-great-grandfather, or a two hundred year ancestor. N.B.—It was customary for the people of other days to wear rings on their thumbs. It is the only way in which I can wear the one I have gotten, for it would nearly let in any two of my fingers." On the evening of the same day a family tea-party assembled at his aunt's. "The party," he writes, "consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Goodsir, Mrs. Ross, aunt of the latter, and Mrs. Carstairs. The Doctor and I were the cooky-handers. In came the papers, and I behoved to read them to my father in the midst of an uninterested company. I have stolen away for a moment for the purpose of closing this letter, and left the Doctor to read till my return." The forenoon of that day, whose morning and evening were devoted to these quiet convivialities, had been partly spent in letter writing. In the reading-room of Kirkaldy he had found two Numbers of the Glasgow Chronicle for the preceding week, and was "grieved to see so much inflammatory matter about the weavers." He now unburdened his mind upon this topic in the following letter to his friend Mr. R. Tennent of Glasgow:—"*Anstruther, July* 31*st*, 1816.—I long to have your news. There is no pressure here among the lower orders. The country is quiet, and in abundance; and the population lists tell us that they bear to towns the proportion of two to one. But in towns all is clamour and noise and broad manifestation. Out of a single case a world of alarm and exaggeration is constructed, and a fraction is magnified into a whole. I am convinced, that while the equable distribution of comfort is a little out of order at present, there is a full average of comforts amongst the labouring classes of the country *at large;* and even in those places where there is a deficiency, it is greatly overrated. At Kirkaldy, the other day, the export weavers came in a body to the magistrates, and prayed for public relief. The town was portioned into districts. A weaver and manufacturer went over each of them for the purpose of investigation; and mark how the reality fell short of the *fama.* Only one loom out of twenty was out of employment, and this because some young women who wrought at looms were out at summer work, and all the rest were getting about as much as the price of a peck of oatmeal in the day. I do not deny the pressure that is in Glasgow, but my every impression is that it is more bawled and bustled and belaboured about, both in print and in conversation, than it ought to be.

"*N.B.*—The foreign trade is below par at present; but all my inquiries are favourable to the fact that the coasting trade is fully up to par. Now mark, that even in the most prosperous times the showy foreign trade is to the substantial and indestructible home trade as twelve to twenty-eight."

From Anstruther Dr. Chalmers proceeded to Kilmany. "The first parish hamlet," he says, "I landed at was at the back of Mountquhannie, where I turned out the population, and went through a great deal of *speering* and hand-shaking. I did the same among all the houses immediately around Mountquhannie. One of my female scholars wept aloud, and I was much moved myself. I then went down to the mansion-house. Mr. Gillespie was at Cupar, but arrived in about half an hour. I walked with him in the garden before dinner. We were altogether most cordial. Major Horsburgh came to meet with me after dinner. He was very tender and friendly. I left them about eight o'clock. Mr. Lawson walked to Rathillet with me. I met with several people here, and had a turn out of population from several of the houses. I called on Mr. Lees, and walked along the road with him till we fell in with Mr. Cook, who came out to meet with me, and with whom I proceeded to the manse. We passed the new inn, got over the crazy bridge, fell in ere we reached the gate with Messrs. Robert Edie and George Aitken, who were kindly invited to sup with me. I remarked that the large gate laboured under its wonted difficulty of being opened, and this circumstance, though minute, brought back the olden time with a gush of tenderness. Supped, showed the guests to the door as usual, but felt a coldness and a melancholy at the difference ; presided at family worship ; was conducted to the best bedroom, where I indulged for some time in lively recollections which carried a mournfulness along with them, and at length, by a sound and lengthened repose, repaired the whole sleeplessness of the preceding night." After two hours' severe composition in the drawing-room, Dr. Chalmers sallied out next forenoon, and completed a walking survey of the village. The long roll of their names, with little descriptive touches as to the diverse modes of the interviews, is here inserted, and the day closes by his saying, " I was happy to see W. S., who had returned to Dairsie the day before, and came back to meet me. He feels a little humbled at being my satellite, and to complete the joke, he calls me the comet that has appeared in their hemisphere, and I call him a little bouncing cracker at my tail. We had a pleasant evening at the manse, and staid up till nearly one o'clock. I complete this day's narrative by saying, that I should have mentioned in that of yesterday how young D. G. is turned remarkably stout, talking and walking, with a head as curly as ever I saw on a water-dog, and the hair so grown that his face looks like half-a-crown with a prodigious system of head-dress all round it."

"After breakfast on Thursday I went to convoy W. S. towards Dairsie, ascended to the top of a romantic height at Airdit along with him, and then took leave; called on Mr. Anster, who was just mounting his horse with Mr. Heriot of Ramornie. I walked back with them up the hill to Logie, and had there about an hour of severe composition. Reached the manse of Leuchars after eight o'clock." Friday night was spent under the hospitable roof of Mr. Lawson, Pitlethie, and Saturday night with the Balfours at East Kinneir, a family to whom he was peculiarly attached, as one of the few in his own parish which rejoiced aright over the change that had taken place in the character of his ministrations. "I started," he proceeds, "on Sunday morning about eight o'clock, after a sound sleep, walked in the garden to the south of the house, and enjoyed the quietness of the Sabbath morn. But my whole sensations in this place are mixed up with a painful and melancholy tenderness. I have made a great sacrifice of personal comfort by going to Glasgow, and all that I read about the poor and the riots, and the calling upon ministers to exert themselves, adds to the repulsion I feel towards that city. Even Mr. Tennent's observations about the impatience of my hearers, and that I must preach more than I told him I was to do, give me the feeling that I have a hydra-headed monster to deal with. This is all very wrong perhaps, and I should strengthen myself in God. I breakfasted at Kinneir, and conducted family worship. I walked with James to Kilmany. The road was lined with crowds of people. Had several hand-shakings on my way to the manse. Mr. Melvil had proclaimed 'no sermon' in his own parish, and he and Mrs. Melvil came down to hear me. I had an unpleasant feeling about the crowd, though the groups coming down the short-cut of the

Cupar road gave me a lively and interesting recollection of the olden time. Messrs. Melvil and Cook insisted on my preaching at the window of my farewell Sabbath, and I was prevailed on. This was unfortunate, for the day was windy, and a great number of the people without did not hear me,* and the effect on myself was very fatiguing, and I have really gotten a most nervous repugnancy to crowds. They are too much for me, and should I preach any more in the country after this jaunt, I shall take care not to make my appearance till Saturday night or Sunday morning. It was not a preaching to my good old people. Many of them were jostled out, and instead of them I had an immense and most oppressive multitude. Mr. Cook and Mr. Melvil could not make their way to their own seat in the afternoon, and had to return to the manse, losing that way half the day. I went over to Mr. Edie's after tea, and had a private half hour of very pleasant conversation with Robert and

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* The wind interfered with the preacher's *reading*, as well as the people's hearing. He had much difficulty with his manuscript; and I believe that it was upon this occasion that one portion of it escaped from his hands altogether—the people making great efforts to recover it, and the preacher assuring them that it was of no consequence, as nobody could make any use of it but himself. It had been written, in fact, in short-hand. His power of reading so fluently from this kind of manuscript has often surprised even the most expert stenographers; but from all kinds of manuscript his mode of reading was unique—so entirely peculiar as to prevent his example being turned into an argument or precedent upon the general question as to how sermons should be delivered. He was himself greatly amused by the manner in which this peculiarity of his had once been described. After dinner one day, at his friend Mr. Bruce's, the conversation happened to turn on the prevalent intense dislike of our common people to the reading of sermons, or what they call the *paper*. One of the company remarked, that if ministers who read would but do it with more spirit, the popular prejudice would ere long disappear, adding, that she knew of a country wife who, in spite of her great general abhorrence of the "paper," was much attached to the preaching of a "paper minister," and who, on this strange inconsistency being remarked upon, replied in her own defence—"Ay, very true; but then he has a *pith* wi' his paper." "That reminds me," said Dr. Chalmers, "of an old anecdote of myself. A friend of mine expressing his surprise to a country woman in Fife, that she who so hated reading should yet be so fond of Mr. Chalmers, she replied, with a serious shake of the head,—'Nae doubt; but it's *fell readin' thon.*'"

Alexander Paterson in a room up stairs. * * * *Monday.*—Started at eight o'clock; was much interested in the view of the road before the window. I had two hours of severe composition after breakfast. At one sallied out; went down the Moutray, and recollected how often I had taken Anne down the bank and entertained her with the ducks of Sandy Robertson I saw sailing in the burn. Dined in Mr. Cook's with a large party. There is a sideboard opposite to the fireplace in the dining-room, and the table is set from the south window to the opposite wall, Mr. Cook sitting at the window as the head. I looked out incessantly to the brae and upon Michael Matthew's ploughs running in their wonted style. Robie Dewar (the carrier) came from Cupar with a letter to me. I had a sentimental interview with him at the kitchen portico. He told me that he had no phrases, but that there was much in his heart." Escorted at different times by one or more of his old parishioners, and making many a visit by the way, late on the Monday evening he was welcomed to Starbank by his wife's relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Simson. His earliest visits on the following morning were to those spots made dear to him by the most peculiar recollections. In the midst of scenes so familiar to Mrs. Chalmers, his narrative now becomes, if possible, more minute than ever, and he tells how the shrubbery, in absence of the tending hand, had become a tangled wilderness—how Alexander Dun, however, still wrought the garden, and kept it in very good order—how half the strawberries on the bank had been renewed and yielded nothing, and the other half in their old state were not peculiarly productive—how, striving to get into the upper park, he had found all the gaps so closed that he had difficulty in penetrating into it—how he had tried to find out the place where once they had sat together, but could find no vestige of the seat which they had occupied,—and how he had taken up his station for some time upon the elevation which, because of some tender remembrance, he denominates " the sentimental knowe." On Tuesday night he supped with Mr. Simson's neighbour, Mr. Lawson. " I left him about ten o'clock, and was conveyed to Starbank. The clearness and beauty of the moonlight resting on a scene so lovely and so dear to me made it a most agreeable walk. On entering Starbank, I found that Mr. S. had gone to bed. Mrs. S. received me in the dining-room, where they keep a good fire, and where I amuse myself tracing the figures on the marble jambs. The fox-tails are still in great preservation. After family worship I retired to bed about eleven." Next day saw another gathering of old friends at L——. " I got to Starbank before nine. Cracked about an hour. Proposed to stay and read a little in the dining-room after they moved up stairs ; but this I should not have done, as Mrs. S.'s anxiety about fire made her sit up till she heard me moving, and then she came down and saw that everything was safe. We met on the stair, and after many apologies, and offers of service, and explanations, and civil sayings, which we scarcely knew how to give over, we at length fairly got quit of one another." Thursday was claimed by Balmeadowside. The family were all at home. " I spent half an hour in the drawing-room, which is just the same as before, with its window transparencies, and mantelpiece gimcracks, and boarding-school performances. We had music from the three Miss N.'s and Miss R. I was much delighted with it ; and we had three reels. After R. went away we had family worship, and I am now writing you from our wonted bedroom." Saturday evening afforded him his last look of the village of Kilmany. He had dined at the manse. " Mrs. Cook most kind and civil. After tea took a tender adieu of them all. As I went through the burn on my horse saw the wives of the ' long row' at their doors looking towards me. Passed the manse gate with the weight of feeling upon me that it was my home no more. The evening was beautiful, and sweetly did the declining sun shine upon all the groups of hamlet objects that were before me. The manse in a glow of luxuriance. I took many a look, till it sunk beneath the summit of the road."

A fortnight more of such delightful cordialities at Cupar, Dundee, and elsewhere, brought him once more to Glasgow, the thought of whose multiplied responsibilities had ever and anon arisen upon him by the way, and forced from him such expressions as the following:—"I will not disguise from you that there is much in and about Glasgow which inspires my distaste for it. I should like to get attached to it, but I have not yet succeeded in this, and I fear, I fear, I shall at length be glad to take refuge in the country from the many untoward and discouraging circumstances which surround my present situation. * * * I feel an increasing interest as the time draws near for returning to Glasgow. I trust I may in time like it. Do away all secular business, and all blame for my avoiding it, and I think I should like it." These dark thoughts of the future were however but the few and flitting shadows thrown upon a period of almost unbroken sunshine—a period, too, as productive as it was pleasant; for throughout the whole of these six weeks, scarcely a single day was suffered to elapse in which an hour or two was not redeemed from its busiest periods, and consecrated to composition. Between Glasgow and Kirkaldy the full preparations for a Sabbath's services were completed. At Kirkaldy, on the Saturday, "Dr. Jones's Sermons," with a copy of a letter from Mr. Josiah Conder, then editor of the Eclectic, accepting his offer to review the volume, were put into his hands; and though he "never preached with greater fatigue or discomfort" than on the succeeding Sabbath, the Monday's Journal has the following entry:—"I yoked to the review of 'Jones;' have read three of his sermons, and thrown off a tolerable modicum of observations on sermons in general. I trust I shall be able to finish my review of him this week." He carried the volume in his pocket, reading it often as he walked, and snatching the readiest hours in the houses of his acquaintances to carry forward his review. "I have this forenoon," is his entry on Wednesday at Pilmuir, "thrown off a full modicum of additional review of 'Jones's Sermons.' I have also written to Dr. Ireland, and offered him a sight of the manuscript on its way to London, lest the friends should be resting too high an expectation on my account of the volume."—"After breakfast," such is the note of progress at Elie, "I retired to my bedroom, where I read 'Jones.' His sermons at Glasgow and Kilmany are in the volume, but they look sadly reduced and enfeebled in print. Anstruther, Saturday, half-past one,—I have now finished the review of 'Dr. Jones's Sermons.'* I am heartily tired of this kind of work, and should like henceforward to decline it altogether."

Tired, however, as he felt on the Saturday of the work of reviewing, another work was taken up on the Monday, and one, we should have thought, as little likely to be undertaken amidst such a life of varied and perpetual motion as he now was living. "I began," he says, "my fourth astronomical sermon to-day." And in a small pocket-book, with borrowed pen and ink, in strange apartments, where he was liable every moment to interruption, that sermon was taken up and carried on to completion. At the manse of Balmerino, disappointed in not finding Mr. Thomson at home, and having a couple of hours to spare—at the manse of Kilmany, in the drawing-room, with all the excitement before him of meeting for the first time, after a year's absence, many of his former friends and parishioners—at the manse of Logie, into which he turned at random by the way and found a vacant hour—paragraph after paragraph was penned of a composition which bears upon it as much of the aspect of high and continuous elaboration as almost any piece of writing in our language.

I believe that literary history presents few parallel instances of such power of immediate and entire concentration of thought, under such ready command of the will, exercised at such broken intervals, amid such unpropitious circumstances, and yet yielding a product in which not a single trace either of rupture in argument or variation in style appears. Those ingenious critics, who, on the first appearance of the "Astronomical Sermons" in print, spoke of the midnight oil which must have been consumed, and the vast elaboration which must have been bestowed—how much would they have been surprised had they but known the times and modes and places in which one at least of these discourses had been prepared!

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* See *Eclectic Review*, vol. vi. p. 238; and *Works*, vol. xii. p. 324.

But higher even than the literary interest which attaches to the record of this visit to Fifeshire, are those brief notices given to us of the spiritual condition of the writer. "I am not attempting," he in one place says, "any more at present than a sheet of severe composition in the week; and as I had nearly completed this, I resolved to abandon myself to the stream of events throughout this day (Saturday), and upon the whole, I hope that the uncomplying severity of system is now giving way with me under a milder and more attractive principle of forbearance with others. I speak, however, with great humility, and am sure that nothing but Divine grace will uphold me in that which is good and acceptable unto the Lord. I trust, amid all my imperfections, that I may be getting on in earnest, humble, and spiritual Christianity. I feel, however, my barrenness, my forgetfulness of God, my miserable distance from the temper and elevation of the New Testament, my proneness to self and its wilful and headlong gratifications, and, above all, a kind of delusive orthodox satisfaction with the mere confession of all this, without a vigorous putting forth of any one revealed expedient for getting the better of it." Again, in reference to a family of whose hospitalities he had been partaking, he says—"There has a great tide of prosperity set in upon this family, and they are kind, upright, amiable people. But I am strongly impressed with the fact, that with these many things we may lack one thing,—and that one thing may be the love of God. I feel the vanity of time; I feel the insignificance of present things. These meetings and partings speak loudly to the folly of trusting in any worldly enjoyments. I fear that I have not improved sufficiently my opportunities on this journey, and all conversation has been suffered to run into the light, the secular, and the trifling. I expatiated upon this with —— by herself, but did not make a better of it at ——, where there was much kind-heartedness, and much cordiality, and much playful remark, but not one distant reference to the main subject of interest and regard to an immortal creature. I have to request of my dear G., that she stir herself up to lay hold of God. Do act faith on the great truths of the Christian revelation. Do cry mightily to God for pardon in the name and for the sake of Christ; and relying on the power of His blood and of His Spirit, commit yourself to Him in well-doing as unto a faithful Creator." * * * "I have much to learn in the way of observing all the kindnesses and all the facilities of social intercourse; and I cannot withhold it, as a testimony to the power and importance of gospel faith, that the more I feel of peace with God, the more largely and the more freely I take in of those promises which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus, the more I have my eye open to the sufficiency of His atonement and the subduing efficacy of His Spirit—in a word, the more I am exercised with all that is direct and peculiar in piety, the more do I feel my heart attuned to the cordialities and the patience and the facilities of benevolence and good-will. Oh! that I was making more steady and decided progress than I have ever yet done—that all the asperities of temper were softening within me—that I was becoming better as the member of a company and the member of a family, and growing every day in conformity to the image of my all-pure and all-perfect Saviour!"

CHAPTER V.

FIRST DELIVERY OF THE ASTRONOMICAL DISCOURSES—SCENE IN THE TRONGATE—PUBLICATION OF THESE DISCOURSES—THEIR EXTRAORDINARY POPULARITY—TESTIMONIES OF HAZLITT AND CANNING—FOSTER'S REVIEW—VISIT TO LONDON—LETTER FROM JAMES MONTGOMERY, ESQ., OF SHEFFIELD—SERMONS IN THE METROPOLIS—LONDON POPULARITY—ANECDOTES OF MR. CANNING, MR. WILBERFORCE, &c.—THE JOURNEY HOME—LETTER TO HIS SISTER—LETTER FROM ROBERT HALL.

At the time of Dr. Chalmers's settlement in Glasgow it was the custom that the clergymen of the city should preach in rotation on Thursday in the Tron Church, a duty which, as their number was then but eight, returned to each within an interval of two months. On Thursday the 23d of November 1815, this week-day service devolved on Dr. Chalmers. The entire novelty of the discourse delivered upon this occasion, and the promise held out by the preacher that a series of similar discourses was to follow, excited the liveliest interest, not in his own congregation alone, but throughout the whole community. He had presented to his hearers a sketch of the recent discoveries of astronomy—distinct in outline, and drawn with all the ease of one who was himself a master in the science, yet gorgeously magnificent in many of its details, displaying amid "the brilliant glow of a blazing eloquence,"* the sublime poetry of the heavens. In his subsequent discourses Dr. Chalmers proposed to discuss the argument or rather prejudice against the Christian Revelation which grounds itself on the vastness and variety of those unnumbered worlds which lie scattered over the immeasurable fields of space. This discussion occupied all the Thursday services allotted to him during the year 1816. The spectacle which presented itself in the Trongate upon the day of the delivery of each new astronomical discourse, was a most singular one. Long ere the bell began to toll, a stream of people might be seen pouring through the passage which led into the Tron Church. Across the street, and immediately opposite to this passage, was the old reading-room, where all the Glasgow merchants met. So soon, however, as the gathering quickening stream upon the opposite side of the street gave the accustomed warning out flowed the occupants of the coffee-room ; the pages of the Herald or the Courier were for a while forsaken, and during two of the best business hours of the day the old reading-room wore a strange aspect of desolation. The busiest merchants of the city were wont indeed upon those memorable days to leave their desks, and kind masters allowed their clerks and apprentices to follow their example. Out of the very heart of the great tumult an hour or two stood redeemed for the highest exercises of the spirit ; and the low traffic of earth forgotten, heaven and its high economy and its human sympathies and eternal interests, engrossed the mind at least and the fancy of congregated thousands.

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* Foster.

In January 1817, this series of discourses was announced as ready for publication. It had generally been a matter of so much commercial risk to issue a volume of sermons from the press, that recourse had been often had in such cases to publication by subscription. Dr. Chalmers's publisher, Mr. Smith, had hinted that perhaps this method ought in this instance also to be tried. " It is far more agreeable to my feelings," Dr. Chalmers wrote to him a few days before the day of publication, "that the book should be introduced to the general market, and sell on the public estimation of it, than that the neighbourhood here should be plied in all the shops with subscription papers, and as much as possible wrung out of their partialities for the author." Neither author nor publisher had at this time the least idea of the extraordinary success which was awaiting their forthcoming volume. It was published on the 28th of January 1817. In ten weeks 6000 copies had been disposed of, the demand showing no symptom of decline. Nine editions were called for within a year, and nearly 20,000 copies were in circulation. Never previously, nor ever since, has any volume of sermons met with such immediate and general acceptance. The "Tales of my Landlord" had a month's start in the date of publication, and even with such a competitor it ran an almost equal race. Not a few curious observers were struck with the novel competition, and watched with lively curiosity how the great Scottish preacher and the great Scottish novelist kept for a whole year so nearly abreast of one another. It was, besides, the first volume of Sermons which fairly broke the lines which had separated too long the literary from the religious public. Its secondary merits won audience for it in quarters where evangelical Christianity was nauseated and despised. It disarmed even the keen hostility of Hazlitt, and kept him for a whole forenoon spell-bound beneath its power. "These sermons," he says, "ran like wild-fire through the country, were the darlings of watering-places, were laid in the windows of inns, and were to be met with in all places of public resort. * * * We remember finding the volume in the orchard of the inn at Burford Bridge, near Boxhill, and passing a whole and very delightful morning in reading it without quitting the shade of an apple tree." The attractive volume stole an hour or two from the occupations of the greatest statesman and orator of the day. "Canning," says Sir James Mackintosh, "told me that he was entirely converted to admiration of Chalmers; so is Bobus, whose conversion is thought the greatest proof of victory. Canning says there are most magnificent passages in his 'Astronomical Sermons.'"* Four years before this time, through the pages of the "Edinburgh Christian Instructor," Dr. Chalmers had said, "Men of tasteful and cultivated literature are repelled from theology at the very outset by the unseemly garb in which she is presented to them. If there be room for the display of eloquence in urgent and pathetic exhortation, in masterly discussion, in elevating greatness of conception, does not theology embrace all these, and will not the language that is clearly and appropriately expressive of them possess many of the constituents and varieties of good writing? If theology, then, can command such an advantage, on what principle should it be kept back from her? * * * In the subject itself there is a grandeur which it were vain to look for in the ordinary themes of eloquence or poetry. Let writers arise, then, to do it justice. Let them be all things to all men, that they may gain some; and if a single proselyte can be thereby drawn from the ranks of literature, let all the embellishments of genius and fancy be thrown around the subject. One man has already done much. Others are rising around him, and with the advantage of a higher subject, they will in time rival the unchristian moralists of the day, and overmatch them." He was one of the first to answer to his own call, to fulfil his own prediction. No single writer of our age has done so much to present the truths of Christianity in new forms, and to invest them with all the attractions of a fascinating eloquence; nor could a single volume be named which has done more than this very volume of "Astronomical

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* *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh*, vol. ii. p. 343. The person known among his particular friends by the name of "Bobus" was Robert Smith, the brother of the Rev. Sydney Smith.

Discourses" to soften and subdue those prejudices which the infidelity of natural science engenders.

In his critique of these Discourses, presented in two articles in the Eclectic Review, Foster blamed their author "for dragging into notice a stale and impotent objection against the truth of the Christian religion, and giving a wide spread by his discourses to an argument which, so far as we can find, is almost unknown."* Had Dr. Chalmers's sole aim been to furnish a distinct and original contribution to the deistical controversy—had his terminating object been the logical overthrow of an alleged argument of the infidel philosophy, his volume might not have stood the test to which the profound but severe intellect of Foster subjected it; but although the argument, or let us rather say the impression, which it was the main object of Dr. Chalmers to set aside and subdue, had never found a place in the pages of the controversialist, it had been felt by many an intellectual and imaginative spirit, elevated to sublime conceptions of the Divinity by the boundless magnificence of the material universe, but over which the chill of an unacknowledged perhaps but most disturbing doubt had crept when told of the incarnation and death of God's eternal Son, in a world so narrow in its limits, and for a race so obscure as ours. It was Dr. Chalmers's chief merit in these Discourses, that after unfolding the wonders of the starry heavens, so as to make our puny globe shrink into shaded insignificance, and after such representations of the universe and its great Governor in relation to our race, as showed how thoroughly he could understand at least, if not sympathize with, the very prejudice which it was to be his effort to remove, he proceeded so to illustrate and exalt the condescension and kindness of the Deity, and so to picture forth the magnitude of those interests which human salvation involved, and so to glorify that act of incalculable grace to which, for the effecting of this salvation, he has been pleased to stoop, as to throw around the character and doings of the God of the New Testament, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, a splendour far higher than even that which the sovereignty of the heavens confers. In doing so, another if not a higher service was rendered to the Christian cause than any which the mere force of triumphant reasoning could achieve.

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* For notices of other reviews of the "Astronomical Discourses," see Appendix D.

In many parts of Foster's review of these sermons Dr. Chalmers himself acquiesced. A year or two before his death, a friend, in whose house he was spending the day, found him deeply engaged with a volume, and giving, as he read, by significant movements of his head, visible tokens of approbation. He told at once, on rising from the book, that it was Foster's review of his " Astronomical Discourses" that he had been reading, which he had not looked at for many years, but in much of which he entirely and cordially concurred. He had quite the feeling towards these Discourses that they were a juvenile production, with too rich an exuberance of phraseology, to which the pruning-knife might beneficially have been applied. Even among his Sermons he did not think that they stood first, his " Commercial Sermons" being always regarded by him as in every respect superior to them. In this, however, as in so many other instances, the judgments of the author and his readers have been at variance; for not only do these " Astronomical Discourses" continue to be favourites with the public, but to this day they command a larger sale than any other portion of Dr. Chalmers's writings.

It was amidst the full burst of that applause which his volume of sermons had elicited that Dr. Chalmers appeared for the first time in a London pulpit. Mrs. Chalmers and he, accompanied by Mr. Smith his publisher, left Glasgow for London on the morning of Monday the 14th April 1817. Their progress was slow and circuitous. Crossing from Cumberland to Yorkshire, visiting the scenery of Rokeby, and pausing to inspect the Moravian establishment of Fulneck, they did not reach Birmingham till the evening of Friday the 23d. From this place Mr. Smith wrote to his friends in Glasgow:—" Our utmost expectations of a delightful journey have been more than realized. It is impossible to conceive how all should have so contributed to our gratification. I am sure that there has not been a desire ungratified in the heart of any one of us. At the outset it was determined that the Doctor should chronicle character, and that I should narrate occurrences and describe scenery. We have already many most interesting memoranda—the Fulneckers, Montgomery at Sheffield, Mr. Hall at Leicester, and many other worthy persons, are to emblazon our sketches. I have gleaned some curious historical anecdotes for my department. Carlisle, Harrowgate, Wakefield, Ripon, Leeds, Fulneck, Sheffield, Nottingham, Leicester, &c., also figure in it. We have been very merry and very wise, and I am sure three travellers were never happier than we have been."—I have not been able to recover the chronicle here referred to, both parts of which were retained by Mr. Smith.* Mr. Montgomery has been kind enough to furnish the following interesting details of his first interview with Dr. Chalmers:—

" THE MOUNT, SHEFFIELD, *January* 23, 1850.

" REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The circumstance which I once mentioned at Glasgow concerning the late Rev. Dr. Chalmers, was simply this:—On a dark evening, about the end of April, (I have forgotten the year,) two strangers called at my house in Sheffield, where I then resided, one of whom introduced himself as Mr. Smith, bookseller of Glasgow, and his companion as the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, of the same city, who, being on a journey to London, where he was engaged to preach the annual sermon for the Missionary Society, desired to have a short interview with me. Of course I was glad to have the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with so great and good a man, and we soon were earnestly engaged in conversation on subjects endeared to us both; for, though at first I found it difficult to take in and decipher his peculiar utterance, yet the thoughts that spoke themselves through the seemingly uncouth words came so quick and thick upon me from his lips, that I could not help understanding them; till, being myself roused into unwonted volubility of speech, I responded as promptly as they were made to his numerous and searching inquiries concerning the United Brethren, (commonly called Moravians,) among whom I was born, but especially respecting their scriptural method of evangelizing and civilizing barbarian tribes of the rudest classes of heathen. In the outset he told me that he had come directly from Fulneck, near Leeds, one of our principal establishments in England, and where there is an academy open for the education of children of parents of all Christian denominations, in which I had been myself a pupil about ten years in the last century. At the time of which I am writing, and for several years in connexion, there were many scholars from the North, as well as Irish and English boarders, there. My visitor said that he had invited all the Scotch lads to meet him at the inn there, and 'how many, think you, there were of them?' he asked me. 'Indeed, I cannot tell,' I replied. He answered, 'there were *saxtain* or *savantain*;'—(I cannot pretend to spell the numbers as he pronounced them to my unpractised ear;)—and I was so taken by surprise, that I exclaimed abruptly, 'It is enough to corrupt the English language in the seminary!' In that moment I felt I had uttered an impertinence, though without the slightest consciousness of such an application to my hearer; and, as instantly recovering my presence of mind, I added, 'When I was at Fulneck school I was the only Scotch lad there.' Whether this slip was noticed, or passed off as mere waste of breath in the heat of conversation, I know not; but on we went together in another vein on a theme which deeply interested my illustrious visitor, and to the discussion of which I was principally indebted for the honour of this sudden and hasty call upon me, as he was to set off for town early the next morning. 'An angel visit, short and bright,'* it was to me, and I do not remember that I ever spent half an hour of more animated and delightful intercommunion with a kindred spirit in my life. As I have noticed already, our discourse turned principally on the subject of the Moravian Missions in pagan lands, and the lamentable inability of our few and small congregations in Christendom to raise among themselves the pecuniary expenses of maintaining their numerous and comparatively large establishments in Greenland, Labrador, North and South America, the West Indies, and South Africa, but that, providentially, they received liberal help from the friends of the gospel of other evangelical denominations; hereupon Dr. Chalmers said—evidently *not* from sudden impulse, but a cherished purpose in his heart—'I mean to raise five hundred pounds for the Brethren's Missions this year!' 'Five hundred pounds for our poor missions!' I cried; 'I never heard of such a thing before!' He rejoined, 'I will do it.' But while I heartily thanked him, and implicitly believed in the integrity of his intention, I could only hope that he might be able to fulfil it, and within myself I said, 'I will watch you, Doctor.' I did so, and traced him through sermons, subscriptions, collections, and donations, till these had realized, to the best of my recollection, a sum nearer to six than five hundred pounds. Now, considering in how many comprehensive concerns he was at that very time putting forth all his strength—originating promoting and accomplishing economical, local, patriotic, and Christian plans for the wellbeing of populous communities—in comparison with which this effort in aid of the brethren was like the putting forth of his little finger only—yet, I confess, that 'small thing,' not to be despised, gave me a most magnificent idea of the intellectual, moral, and sanctified power for good with which the human being who stood before me was endowed from on high. And surely, if ever ten talents were committed by Him who is Lord of all in His kingdom of heaven on earth, Dr. Chalmers was so invested; and judging by the labours which he did in his day, and the works *which remain, as well as have followed* him to his account, we may fervently believe that the treasure lent to him was doubled by his faithful occupation of the same, and that his 'joy of the Lord,' which was his 'strength' in life, is now his portion for ever. I must conclude here, or I shall lose another post, and have to beg pardon for not earlier communicating the small intelligence which you required; but cold weather in the 78th winter of my age is paralyzing and disheartening when called upon to do anything in the right time.—I am, however, truly and respectfully, your friend and servant, J. MONTGOMERY."

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* I have been extremely indebted to A. Macduff, Esq., of Bonhard, the representative of Mr. Smith, who has not only furnished the materials of the second chapter in this volume, but has made every effort, though in vain, to recover the journal above alluded to.

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* "I have borrowed this phrase neither from Blair nor Campbell, but from 'John Norris' of the seventeenth century:—

'How fading are the joys we dote upon!
  Like apparitions seen and gone;
But those which soonest take their flight,
  Are the most exquisite and strong;
Like angels' visits, short and bright,
  Mortality's too weak to bear them long.'

Can we doubt that these lines were actually inspired by such a visit in the presence of the heavenly visitant? Such poetry is not of the earth, earthy."

"P.S.—Several years later, being in London when Dr. C. was there, I had the happiness to meet him repeatedly at Homerton, and was every time more and more pleased with him, as indeed a good and faithful servant of his Lord."

At Warwick the travelling party broke up, Mr. Smith proceeding to Paris, Dr. and Mrs. Chalmers going to Gloucestershire to spend a fortnight with Mr. and Mrs. Morton. From his sister's residence Dr. Chalmers addressed the following letter to Miss Smith :—

"PUDHILL, MINCHING HAMPTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE,
May 2d, 1817.

"MY DEAR MISS SMITH,—We reached this a week ago, and propose spending another week here ere we set out for London. We are in full expectation of meeting your brother upon our arrival, and of journeying homewards with him by the circuitous route of Portsmouth, Bristol, Wales, and the Lakes. * * *

"I expect to see the great Foster this evening, author of the profound and eloquent 'Essays' which you may have heard of. We were much delighted with Mr. Hall at Leicester, and have indeed the whole of our journey scattered over with very pleasant remembrances.

"Our tendency to forget God is on no occasion more visible than in travelling. We had the Bible in the chaise-pocket, which I think a good habit on a journey ; and yet how often have I looked at the variety and richness of the scene around me in total insensibility to the consideration that it was God who spread it all before me, and filled it with its beauties. There is a helpless enslavement on the part of man to the things of sense and of time, and nothing will rescue him but a habit of leaning upon Christ, a drawing out of His fulness, a constant commitment of ourselves to Him as the Lord our strength, who alone can perfect it in our weakness, and make His grace sufficient for us.

"May He draw you more and more towards Him, and may you grow every day in a more perfect resemblance to all those virtues which adorned His character.

"With best compliments to Mr. Smith, in which Mrs. Chalmers joins, believe me, my dear Madam, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The three travellers met again in London on the evening of Tuesday the 13th May. On the following day Dr. Chalmers preached, in Surrey Chapel, the anniversary sermon for the London Missionary Society. Although the service did not commence till eleven o'clock, "at seven in the morning the chapel was crowded to excess, and many thousands went off for want of room." The two front seats in the gallery were reserved for ministers and students of theology to the number of between two and three hundred. An occupant* of one of these seats informs us, that "on the termination of the Church service, and after an extempore prayer by Dr. Kollock from America, Dr. Chalmers entered the pulpit in his usual simple and unpretending manner, and sat down, while all eyes were fixed upon him. He rose and gave out his text from 1 Cor. xiv. 22-25. The singularity of the text and the originality of the exordium awakened a breathless attention, which was increased by the northern accent of the preacher, and the apparent weakness or unmanageableness of his voice. The late Dr. Styles of Brighton, and Dr. Henry Burder of London, who were sitting directly before me, looked at each other with anxiety and regret, as if doomed to disappointment; but he had not proceeded many minutes till his voice gradually expanded in strength and compass, reaching every part of the house, and commanding universal attention. At the close of many of his long and well-turned periods there was a sensible rustling throughout the audience, as if stopping to take breath. Towards the middle of the discourse the preacher became quite exhausted by the violence of his action, and sat down while two verses of a hymn were singing, accompanied as usual by the organ. He then rose and recommenced his sermon, which occupied about an hour and a half in the delivery. Old Rowland Hill stood the whole time at the foot of the pulpit, gazing on the preacher with great earnestness, and whenever any sentiment was uttered which met his approval, signifying his assent by a gentle nod of the head, and an expressive smile." On returning from this exciting scene, Mr. Smith sat down to inform his friends in Glasgow of the result :—" I write under the nervousness of having heard and witnessed the most astonishing display of human talent that perhaps ever commanded sight or hearing. Dr. Chalmers has just finished the discourse before the Missionary Society. All my expectations were overwhelmed in the triumph of it. Nothing from the Tron pulpit ever exceeded it, nor did he ever more arrest and wonderwork his auditors. I had a full view of the whole place. The carrying forward of minds never was so visible to me : a constant assent of the head from the whole people accompanied all his paragraphs, and the breathlessness of expectation permitted not the beating of a heart to agitate the stillness."

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* The Rev. Mr. Lothian of the Independent Church, St. Andrews, at that time a student in one of the Dissenting Colleges of the metropolis.

On Tuesday the 20th, Mr. Smith snatched again a few minutes for his friends in the North :—" Since I wrote last we have been in great bustle. On Thursday evening we were introduced at the meeting of the Royal Society, where we saw all the most distinguished philosophers of the nation. On Friday evening we were in the House of Peers during the debate on the Catholic Question. The House was very numerously attended. On Saturday Dr. Chalmers and I, with Dr. Mason of New York, went to Cambridge—Mrs. Chalmers remaining at Walworth with Dr. Chalmers's brother's family. Our Cambridge expedition passed over most happily. All honour was showered on the Doctor. In every particular we were highly gratified. The agitation here on account of Dr. Chalmers is quite unprecedented. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Melville, and others, have desired to be introduced to him. At present he is off to the Chancellor, and we have just had a message from the Lord Mayor, telling us of his intention to call here to-day."

On Wednesday the 21st, Dr. Chalmers attended the anniversary dinner of the London Correspondent Board of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In reply to a toast given by the Rev. Henry White, Rector of All Hallows, London, in which his own name was coupled with that of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Chalmers, after eulogizing the Scottish system of education, which he described as his country's "cheap defence," referred with admiration and delight to the symptoms then shewing themselves of approximation between the Churches of England and Scotland. He closed by proposing as a toast, "The Rev. Sir Robert Pratt and the Church of England."

On Thursday the 22d, Dr. Chalmers preached again in Surrey Chapel on behalf of the Scottish Hospital for the relief of aged and destitute natives of Scotland, who never having acquired a settlement in England, had no claim for parochial aid. In announcing this discourse in the newspapers, the Committee of the Hospital had thought it desirable to make the following intimation:—"Divine Service begins at eleven o'clock, but the Committee having issued tickets to a part of the Church, for the better securing of accommodation to the friends of the charity, it is requested that those holding tickets may be at the chapel at the opening of the doors, at half-past nine o'clock, to prevent disappointment." The sermon preached for this Hospital was the same which Dr. Chalmers had delivered before the Society of the Sons of the Clergy in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The growing evils of the Poor-laws, as then administered in England, were attracting much of the attention of public men ; and while they were only planning methods for mitigating these evils, it must have surprised a London audience not a little to hear from the pulpit a bold and uncompromising attack on the principle and expediency of all forms of legalized charity. Upon the Saturday which followed the delivery of this discourse, Mr. Smith writes—"The Doctor has come off with great *éclat*. Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Elgin, and all the *literati*, were at the Church on Thursday last. To-morrow will be a day of much expectation."

On the forenoon of Sabbath the 25th, Dr. Chalmers preached in the Scotch Church, London Wall, for the benefit of the Hibernian Society. "The desire," says the Rev. Dr. Manuel, who at that time was minister of this church, "felt by all classes, but particularly by the higher classes of society, to hear him upon this occasion, was extreme, exceeding almost all precedent.* Among his auditors were a number of the most distinguished clergy of the Church of England, several Peers, many members of Parliament, the Lord Mayor of the city, and literary characters of all classes and denominations. Anticipating the pressure, a large chapel in the neighbourhood was engaged to receive the overflow. Not only the Scotch Church, but this chapel also was crammed to suffocation, hundreds seeking admission, but going away without getting into either place of worship. * * * At the close of the sermon the Lord Mayor went up into the pulpit, and importuned Dr. Chalmers to preach on behalf of some city object, which he was obliged to decline." "All the world," writes Mr. Wilberforce in his Diary, "wild about Dr. Chalmers. He seems truly pious, simple, and unassuming. *Sunday*, 25*th*.—Off early with Canning, Huskisson, and Lord Binning, to the Scotch Church, London Wall, to hear Dr. Chalmers. Vast crowds. Bobus Smith, Lords Elgin, Harrowby, &c. I was surprised to see how greatly Canning was affected; at times he was quite melted into tears." The passage which most affected him was at the close of the discourse.* He is reported to have said, that although at first he felt uneasy in consequence of Dr. Chalmers's manner and accent, yet that he had never been so arrested by any oratory. "The tartan," so runs the speech attributed to him, "beats us all."

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* Amid all this excitement, which of course would be greatest among Dr. Chalmers's own countrymen, there was at least one Scotchman in London who continued quite unmoved. His own brother James never once went to hear him preach. He could not escape, however, hearing much about him, for the stir created had penetrated even into his daily haunt, the Jerusalem Coffee-house. "Well," said one of his merchant friends to him one day, wholly ignorant of his relationship, "have you heard this wonderful countryman and namesake of yours?" "Yes," said James, somewhat drily, "I have heard him." "And what did you think of him?" "Very little indeed," was the reply. "Dear me!" said the astonished inquirer; "*when* did you hear him?" "About half an hour after he was born."

On the afternoon of the same Sabbath Dr. Chalmers preached for the Rev. Dr. Nicol, minister of the Scotch Church, Swallow Street. The crowd here had nearly lost its object by the very vehemence of its pursuit. On approaching the church Dr. Chalmers and a friend found so dense a mass within and before the building as to give no hope of effecting an entrance by the mere force of ordinary pressure. Lifting his cane and gently tapping the heads of those who were in advance, Dr. Chalmers's friend exclaimed, "Make way there—make way *for Dr. Chalmers.*" Heads indeed were turned at the summons, and looks were given, but with not a few significant tokens of incredulity, and some broad hints that they were not to be taken in by any such device, the sturdy Londoners refused to move. Forced to retire, Dr. Chalmers retreated from the outskirts of the crowd, crossed the street, stood for a few moments gazing on the growing tumult, and had almost resolved altogether to withdraw. Matters were not much better when Mr. Wilberforce and his party approached. Access by any of the ordinary entrances was impossible. In this emergency, and as there was still some unoccupied space around the pulpit which the crowd had not been able to appropriate, a plank was projected from one of the windows till it rested on an iron palisade. By this privileged passage Mr. Wilberforce, and the ladies who were with him, were invited to enter, Lord Elgin waving encouragement and offering aid from within. "I was surveying the breach," says Mr. Wilberforce, "with a cautious and inquiring eye, when Lady D., no shrimp you must observe, entered boldly before me, and proved that it was practicable." The impression produced by the service which followed, when all had at last settled down into stillness, was deeper than that made by any of those which preceded it, and we may hope it was also more salutary, as the preacher dealt throughout with truths bearing directly on the individual salvation of his hearers.*

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* "Mr. Canning was present at the sermon preached for the Hibernian Society. The beautiful passage on the Irish character affected him to tears. I saw it myself."—*Letter from the Countess Dowager Elgin.*

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* I have not been able to ascertain positively what sermon Dr. Chalmers preached on this occasion. From the brief notice of it by Mr. Wilberforce—"Chalmers most awful on carnal and spiritual man," and from the subjoined sketch taken from the Morning Chronicle, I am inclined to believe that it was the sermon which stands first in the tenth volume of his Works.

"*Monday, May 26th,* 1817.—Rev. Dr. Chalmers.—Yesterday the public had another opportunity of hearing this eminent Divine previous to his leaving town for Glasgow. He preached in the forenoon for the Hibernian Society, in the Rev. Mr. Manuel's Church, London Wall, and in the afternoon in Swallow Street. In the forenoon he advocated the cause of the Society with his usual ability, but his sermon in the afternoon, on 'the degeneracy of man,' was one of the finest specimens of eloquence that could possibly be delivered from the pulpit, and displayed the most profound knowledge of the human mind. The progress of vice, its fascinating allurements, and its tendency to the eternal ruin of its votaries, were de-

"I pronounce London"—so had Dr. Chalmers written to his brother James some months before coming up to the metropolis—"I pronounce London to be intolerable. I have had to issue a whole swarm of refusals to your London applications, and though I mean to be there in May, yet I believe that the insufferable urgency of the place will drive me away from it so soon as I have liquidated my engagements to two Societies." The insufferable urgency had its apprehended effect. He did not enter London till the day immediately preceding that on which he preached his first sermon, and he left it on the day immediately succeeding that on which his last discourse was delivered. With Mr. Smith once more as their travelling companion, Mrs. Chalmers and he left London on Monday the 26th May. In the much regretted absence of the lost Journal, we must, nevertheless, be grateful to Mr. Smith for the following notices of their homeward route. Visiting Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, Ryde, East and West Cowes, Gosport, Southampton, Salisbury, Warminster, Bath, and Bristol, the party penetrated into South Wales, whence Mr. Smith thus writes:—"*Brecon, June 3d,* 1817.—You would hear of the distinguished reception we had at Portsmouth from Sir George Grey, the Commissioner for the Admiralty there. Lady Grey, in point of Christian excellence, is deemed in this country to be second only to Mr. Wilberforce. At Bath we were quite as fortunate. At Bristol even more so. The Doctor saw Mrs. Hannah More; but as she had recently lost a sister, Mrs. Chalmers and I did

picted in the most glowing colours. The discourse was concluded by an animated and powerful address to the vicious on the folly and absurdity of their conduct. The pressure at both places of worship was immense, and though every accommodation was made, many thousands went away very much disappointed for want of room to stand even at the doors. Mr. Wilberforce and several Members of Parliament were present in the afternoon. We understand that the collection made after the sermon for the Scottish Hospital, which he preached in Surrey Chapel on Thursday, exceeded £260, which was very great, considering that every day during the last three weeks collections have been made in the Metropolis."

not intrude. We all saw and had much enjoyment in Mr. Foster. Mrs. Chalmers and I heard him preach on Sunday evening. The Doctor could not be present as he had to officiate in Bristol. Mr. Foster was beyond all our expectations marvellous. Yesterday we came to what may truly be denominated the paradise of England—Piercefield, the seat of Mr. Wells, on this side the passage. He detained us for the evening in the most gentlemanly and pleasing manner. In Wales we have seen Tintern Abbey, Chepstow Castle, Ragland Castle, &c. The remainder of this week is to be devoted to the Devil's Bridge, Llanidloes, Oswestry, Llangollen, Wrexham, Chester, and Liverpool. Next week we proceed to the Lakes."

"*Newby Bridge, June* 12*th*.—The whole of the proposed route has been most successfully accomplished. The scenery around the Devil's Bridge in South Wales, and that of Llangollen in North Wales, most interested us. On Saturday evening we arrived at Liverpool. The interest excited by the Doctor's appearance there was perhaps greater than anywhere else; of course the number of Scotchmen there must have had some effect. Kindnesses were almost overwhelming. We breakfasted with Mr. Gladstone on Monday, after which he carried us to all the lions. On Tuesday we dined with him. Yesterday morning we got away from them, arrived at Lancaster about four o'clock, crossed the great sands, (ten miles,) as the tide was out, and got to this place, at the head of Windermere Lake, by nine o'clock. Our detention at Liverpool makes it impossible we can arrive, as I had hoped, on Saturday evening first. I shall make every effort to be in Glasgow on Monday. Mrs. Chalmers will accompany me, but as the Doctor could not do any duty till Sunday, and has not had many opportunities for study during this journey, he proposes to remain at some retired place among the mountains, for the purpose of composition."

The place selected for this purpose was Douglas Mill, whence Dr. Chalmers addressed the following letter to Mrs. Morton:—"*June* 18*th*, 1817.—I was left here two days ago for the purpose of study, this being a quiet inn, about thirty miles from Glasgow. My elder, Mr. Collins, has come out to spend the time with me, and I am living in great comfort and retirement. At London I had many introductions. Mr. Wilberforce is by far the most valuable acquisition I have made there, though I count Lord Grenville and Mr. Canning to be very splendid acquaintances. Do you know Sir Thomas Ackland spent the evening with us at Mr. Wilberforce's. I should suppose him to have at least strong Christian inclinations, and with the most exquisite gentility I think him to have much of the ardour and generosity of an open and susceptible heart. * * * We spent three days at Liverpool. I was greatly delighted with the Gladstones, to whom I got an introduction. I should have mentioned also the pleasure we had at Portsmouth and throughout Wales, but the places and the people we have passed are so manifold that I have but a dazzling and indistinct remembrance of the whole, and can only say that the Pudhill fortnight is the period of our journey to which I look back with the truest satisfaction. I must be more frequent in my letters to you in all time coming. The truth is, that you occupy the second place in my regard of all the people in this world who have attained full stature. Perhaps these constitutional preferences are not easily accounted for; but I cannot tell you how much my visit to Gloucestershire has refreshed and renewed and deepened all my former attachment to you. If God spare me for another English journey I wish it were for Gloucestershire wholly. * * * I beg you to dwell much and affectionately on the great peculiarities of the Gospel. Remember they were given for us to receive, and to rely upon, and to feed upon. Christ our propitiation—Christ our Sanctifier—Christ in us the hope of glory—Christ all in all. Do admit these, and such as these, into your willing and determined faith; knowing that it is only through faith that we can find our way to love, and only through love that we can find our way to acceptable obedience."

Some time after his return to Glasgow Dr. Chalmers received a communication from the Rev. Robert Hall, in which he says—"It would be difficult not to congratulate you on the unrivalled and unbounded popularity which attended you in the metropolis, but that I am convinced, from the extreme modesty of your nature, such an overwhelming tide of distinction and applause would be quite distressing to you. When you consider, however, the thousands who have probably benefited by the unparalleled energy of your public ministrations, you will be the more easily reconciled to the inconvenience inseparable from high celebrity. The attention which your sermons have excited is probably unequalled in modern literature, and it must be a delightful reflection that you are advancing the cause of religion in innumerable multitudes of your fellow-creatures, whose faces you will never behold till the last day. My ardent prayer is, that talents so rich in splendour, and piety so fervent, may long be continued to be faithfully and assiduously devoted to the service of God and of your generation."

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST VISITATION OF HIS PARISH—ITS METHODS AND RESULTS—CHECKS AND INTERRUPTIONS—THE GREAT QUESTION AT THE TOWN HOSPITAL—THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY SECULARIZED—HIS PUBLIC DENUNCIATIONS OF THE EVILS OF THIS SYSTEM—SPEECH AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIBLE SOCIETY—ADDITION TO THE ELDERSHIP—SABBATH-SCHOOL SOCIETY—THE QUESTION OF PUNISHMENT—ORIGIN OF LOCAL SABBATH-SCHOOLS—DR. CHALMERS'S ACCOUNT OF THEIR FIRST INSTITUTION AND EFFECTS—HIS DEFENCE OF SABBATH-SCHOOLS.

It is the acknowledged duty, and in rural districts the general practice, of clergymen of the Established Church of Scotland to make an annual visitation of their parishes, when every house is entered, and the general condition of each family as to education and church attendance is ascertained. Even in the earlier days of his more careless ministry this duty had been punctually discharged by Dr. Chalmers; and when new life and spirit were breathed into that ministry, he had been peculiarly impressed by the signal efficacy of these household ministrations. But in the larger towns, even under the most zealous pastoral superintendence, parishes had become so populous, and congregational and other public services had become so burdensome, that regular parochial visitations had fallen very much into disuse. Dr. Chalmers was convinced that the degraded condition of large masses of the city population—then little understood, though occasionally lamented—might mainly be attributed to this ecclesiastical neglect. In his estimation of it, that degradation was neither a necessary nor an irremediable evil. There was nothing in any town population so essentially different from a rural one as to render the ministrations of a devoted clergyman less efficacious in the one case than in the other. Let but the same kind and the same amount of spiritual appliances, which in every well-served country parish secured such universal education of the young and such regular attendance at church, be brought to bear on the very worst districts of the most crowded city, and he was satisfied that they would accomplish the very same results. He commenced his ministerial labours in Glasgow with the immovable conviction of the perfect practicability of assimilating the worst-conditioned town to the best-conditioned country parish. As the basis of all after operations, his first object was to ascertain by personal inspection the actual condition of that community with whose spiritual oversight he was entrusted. At this time the Tron Church parish comprised that portion of the city which lies to the east of the Saltmarket and to the south of the Gallowgate. Its population was not exactly known, but it was believed to contain somewhere between eleven and twelve thousand souls. To visit every family of such a population within a year or two was a Herculean task, yet Dr. Chalmers resolved to accomplish it. To have a religious service in each house, and yet complete this first survey within the time projected, would have been impossible. His visits, therefore, were generally short. A few questions were asked regarding the state of the family as to education and church attendance, a few kindly observations were made, and Dr. Chalmers then passed quickly into the next house, leaving it to his elder to announce the discourse which in some neighbouring school-room or other convenient place was to be delivered on an approaching week-day evening for the special benefit of the inhabitants of the district. "Doctor," said an old and pious widow whom he thus visited, " you will surely not leave me without offering up a prayer." The practice, however, must be uniform,—the established rule must not be broken ; he refused, therefore, saying in his defence—" If I were to pray in every house I enter, it would take me ten years to get through the work." That work was hard ; the wynds were often close and filthy, the stairs narrow and steep, the houses vile and ill ventilated,—yet cheerfully and resolutely did he carry it through, cheering ever and anon the flagging spirit of his companion as they went along. " Well," said he, looking kindly over his shoulder upon his elder, who, scarcely able to keep pace with him, was toiling up a long and weary stair,—" Well, what do you think of this kind of visiting ?" Engrossed with the toils of the ascent, the elder announced that he had not been thinking much about it. " Oh ! I know quite well," said Dr. Chalmers, " that if you were to speak your mind, you would say that we are putting the butter very thinly upon the bread." The discoveries which broke upon him as he entered upon this visitation astonished and distressed him. Writing to Mr. Edie early in February 1816, he says,—" I have commenced a very stupendous work lately—the visitation of my parish. A very great proportion of the people have no seats in any place of worship whatever, and a very deep and universal ignorance on the high matters of faith and eternity obtains over the whole extent of a mighty population."

While such a laborious visitation was prosecuted throughout the week, suggesting at every stage new schemes of usefulness, and while, at the same time, the demands of the Tron Church pulpit and of the thousands now crowding around it had to be satisfied each returning Sabbath, was it wonderful that Dr. Chalmers should be grievously provoked by the distracting interruptions to which from every point of the compass he felt himself exposed ?

He had been not a little alarmed, even before he left Kilmany, by reports of the vast accumulations of unministerial labour which the customs of the place and the requirements of authority had devolved upon the ministers of Glasgow. It was his fear that neither time nor strength would thus be left to him to prosecute aright the higher objects of the Christian ministry which made him hesitate for a season to accept the offered appointment to the Tron Church. Dr. Balfour succeeded in quieting his alarms, by giving as mitigated a representation as possible of the extra-ministerial work which would be required, expecting doubtless that when once the movement was made Dr. Chalmers would yield to the pressure as it came upon him, and, like all the other city ministers, quietly accommodate himself to the demands and necessities of his position. But he was ignorant of the glowing ardour of that intense devotedness with which certain favourite projects were cherished, and of the determined and indomitable energy of that will which was waiting the opportunity to realize them. Soon after Dr. Chalmers's settlement in Glasgow the fears which it was imagined had been allayed broke out with redoubled strength. It was sufficiently annoying to sit an hour in grave deliberation as to whether a gutter should be shut up or left open. He might remain, however, a silent auditor at that solemn farce; but it was worse to be called upon, as he was soon afterwards at a meeting of the Town Hospital, to take a personal share in a similar discussion. Some of the gravest of the city ministers, and some of the wisest of the city merchants, had been summoned to the conclave, when the weighty and perplexing question was propounded, whether pork broth or ox-head broth should be served to the inmates of the Hospital. Opinions differed, the debate waxed warm, and at last it was resolved to subject the matter to actual trial. A quantity of both kinds of broth was produced, each sitter tasting it as it made its circuit of the Board. The judgments were then collected and compared, when the sapient decision was given forth—that henceforth there should be served sometimes the one kind of broth and sometimes the other. It was but seldom, however, that, as in this case, the ludicrous aspect of the required service relieved the annoyance of its discharge. And a worse evil than the mere waste of time soon showed itself to be connected with that administration of the public charities which had to so large an extent been thrown upon clergymen. When examined some years afterwards before a Committee of the House of Commons Dr. Chalmers was asked—

"95. Have you any observations to make to the Committee with respect to the condition of the first parish to which you were appointed, the Tron Church, at the time of your appointment, and during the period of your ministry?—I disliked very much the condition of the parish at the outset of my connexion with it, and withdrew altogether from any share in the management of its pauperism. I felt it my duty to do so. In the eyes of the population the minister stood connected not merely with the administration of this compulsory fund, but with the administration of a great many such charities as we call Mortifications in Scotland, which are endowments for indigence, left by benevolent citizens, and who generally constitute the clergy their trustees. Among the earliest movements I made through the families, I was very much surprised at the unexpected cordiality of my welcome, the people thronging about me, and requesting me to enter their houses. I remember I could scarcely make my way to the bottom of a close in the Saltmarket, I was so exceedingly thronged by the people; but I soon perceived that this was in consequence of my imagined influence in the distribution of these charities; and I certainly did feel a very great recoil, for it was so different from the principle upon which I had been received with cordiality in my country parish, where the topic of their temporal necessities was scarcely ever mentioned: I therefore resolved to dissever myself from the administration of these charities altogether. I soon made the people understand that I only dealt in one article, that of Christian instruction; and that if they chose to receive me upon this footing, I should be glad to visit them occasionally. I can vouch for it that the cordiality of the people was not only enhanced but very much refined in its principle after this became the general understanding: that of the ten thousand entries which I have made at different times into the houses of the poor in Glasgow, I cannot recollect half-a-dozen instances in which I was not received with welcome."*

All share in the management of the pauperism of his parish he could and he did decline. The draughts which were continually made for his attendance at this meeting or the other he could and he did dishonour. But he could not protect his study from a thousand invasions; nor could any private remonstrances turn the tide of that public opinion which asked and expected of the city ministers a whole host of secular services. Harassed at every point of his progress, and exposed to ignorant and ill applied reproach, he resolved at last, in some more public and effectual manner, to assert the proper and spiritual functions of the Christian ministry, to vindicate its injured prerogatives, and, if the voice of remonstrance and rebuke could do it, to effect a deliverance for himself and for his brethren. He chose the pulpit as his instrument; and few congregations ever listened to a minister with greater astonishment than did that to which his two discourses, delivered in the Tron Church on Sabbath the 13th October 1816, were addressed. His text was appropriate and ominous:—"Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables," Acts vi. 2. The forenoon discourse was devoted to a minute and most singular detail of the multiform exactions and services by which the ministers of the Gospel in Glasgow had been withdrawn from prayer and the ministry of the word. He told his wondering audience of schedules, and circulars, and printed forms, with long blank spaces which the minister should have the goodness to fill up, and how of all his doings in this one department the simple achievement of seventy signatures in a day was all that his dizzy recollection had been able to retain. Pursuing the strange narration, in which pathos and satire and burning indignation were all blended, "I have already said much," he continued, "of the interruption and the labour which the public charities of the place bring along with them; and yet I have not told you one-half the amount of it. I have only insisted on that part of it which takes a minister from his house, and from which the minister, at the expense of a little odium, can at all times protect himself, by the determined habit of sitting immovable under every call and every application. All that arrangement which takes a minister away from his house may be evaded—but how shall he be able to extricate himself from the besetting inconveniences of such an arrangement as gives to the whole population of a neighbourhood a constant and ever-moving tendency towards the house of the minister? The patronage with which I think it is his heavy misfortune to be encumbered, gives him a share in the disposal of innumerable vacancies, and each vacancy gives rise to innumerable candidates, and each candidate is sure to strengthen his chance for success by stirring up a whole round of acquaintances, who, in the various forms of written and of personal entreaty, discharge their wishes on the minister in the shape of innumerable applications. It is fair to observe, however, that the turmoil of all this electioneering has its times and its seasons. It does not keep by one in the form of a steady monsoon. It comes upon him more in the resemblance of a hurricane ; and like the hurricanes of the atmosphere, it has its months of violence and its intervals of periodical cessation. I shall only say, that when it does come, the power of contemplation takes to herself wings and flees away. She cannot live and flourish in the whirlwind of all that noise and confusion by which her retreat is so boisterously agitated. She sickens and grows pale at every quivering of the household bell, and at every volley from the household door, by which the loud notes of impatience march along the passages, and force an impetuous announcement into every chamber of the dwelling-place. She finds all this to be too much for her. These rude and incessant visitations fatigue and exhaust her, and at length banish her entirely; nor will she suffer either force or flattery to detain her in a mansion invaded by the din of such turbulent and uncongenial elements.

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* See *Works*, vol. xvi. pp. 312, 313.

" But though I talk of cessations and intervals, you are not to suppose that there are ever at any time the intervals of absolute repose. There is a daily visitation, though it is only at particular months that it comes upon you with all the vehemence and force of a tornado. There was of late an unceasing stream of people passing every day through the house, and coming under the review of the minister on their road to the supplies of ordinary pauperism. This formed part of the prescribed conveyance through which each of them trusted to find their way to the relief that they aspired after. This always secured a levee of petitioners, and kept up a perennial flow of applications, varying in rapidity and fulness with the difficulty of the times—but never, in the whole course of my experience, subsiding into a rill so gentle that it only ministered delight and refreshment to the bosom by the peacefulness of its murmurs. Oh, no ! my brethren—there is a something here about which our tearful sons and daughters of poesy are most miserably in the wrong. I know that they have got many fine things to say about the minister of a beneficent religion having a ready tear for every suffering, and an open ear for every cry, and room in his house for every complainer, and room in his heart for a distinct exercise of compassion on the needs and the distresses of every afflicted family, and an open door through which the representations of dejected humanity may ever find a welcome admittance, and a free unoccupied day throughout every hour of which it is his part to act the willing friend of his parishioners, and to yield the alacrity of his immediate attentions in behalf of all the wants and all the wretchedness that is among them. Yes! all this ought to be done, and agents should be found for the doing of it. But the minister is not the man who can do it. The minister is not the man who should do it. And beset as we are on the one hand by a hard and a secular generation, who, without one sigh of remorse, could see every minister of the city sinking the spiritualities of his office under the weight of engagements which they themselves will not touch with one of their fingers; and deafened as we are on the other hand by the outcry of puling sentimentalists, who, without thought and without calculation, would realize all the folly and all the fondness of their fancy-sketches upon us, I utterly refuse the propriety of all these services—and yet proclaiming myself the firm, the ardent, the devoted friend of the poor, do I assert these advocates of theirs to be the blind supporters of a system which has aggravated both the moral and the physical wretchedness of a most cruelly neglected population."

In the afternoon the subject was resumed, and in demonstrating the evils of the system which he denounced, Dr. Chalmers expatiated on the serious losses which the literature of theology and the learning of its ministers had thereby suffered, closing his impassioned oration in these words:—

"But I shall be told by some that all this literature is of no consequence;—that it is an unhallowed innovation upon the simplicity that is in Christ now to plead for it as I have done; that to lament its decay and its departure as I have done is to take up the Sabbath with a topic of unsuitable contemplation, and to profane the pulpit by an argument which, in the eyes of many, may wear a complexion so classical and even so heathenish as positively to scandalize them. Oh! my brethren, I am afraid that upon this subject there has been a most unmanly surrender of Christianity and of all that strength and honour which belong to it, that so much authority has been given to the conceptions of a narrow and ignorant bigotry as to have laid open our religion to the scorn of philosophers, and to have brought down upon her the contempt and the disgust of the upper classes of society; that in this way she has been associated with all that is mean and with all that is ignoble, and has been banished from the circles of literature, and has been looked upon as such a tame vulgar and unworthy thing, as to be totally unfit for a man of eloquence and of liberal illumination; ay, and when they cast their glance upon her, and see nothing in any of her features but the plain and the coarse and the ordinary, let us not wonder though it should be a glance of hard and infidel disdain. What! are we to be told that in behalf of Christianity nothing can be summoned up either in the way of argument or of illustration to compel the homage and to school the superciliousness of these men? Are we, in truckling compliance with the humours of a baseless fanaticism, to strip away all learning and cultivation and eloquence, as so many unseemly appendages from the business of the priesthood? Are we to let down the defences of our faith, and to withdraw from it the labours of the understanding, and to mar any one of its legitimate recommendations, and to proclaim in the hearing of the public that instead of being all things to all men, our men of science and of scholarship are altogether beyond the range of its artillery, that they may assemble in their halls, and sit in the conscious superiority of reason above all the pretensions of this homely and unlettered superstition—that they may bid a proud defiance to all her anathemas, and leave it to the abject credulity of unenlightened minds to be shaken by her terrors—that they move in a secure and elevated region, where all the weapons of Christianity and all the remonstrances of her illiterate defenders cannot reach them, and that looking down on a vulgarized priesthood, they may feel how they have nothing to fear from such a tame and feeble host of assailants,—how the bulwarks of philosophy are safe from all the inroads of this loathsome fanaticism, and that it might be left to do all its slovenly work and to reap all its humble triumphs over the mass of an untaught population.

" Now, my brethren, what I strongly contend for is, that in like manner as the Bible of Christianity should be turned into all languages, so the preaching of Christianity should be turned to meet the every style of conception and the every variety of taste or of prejudice which can be found in all the quarters of society. The proudest of her recorded distinctions is that she is the religion of the poor—that she can light up the hope of immortality in their humble habitations—that the toil-worn mechanic can carry her Sabbath lessons away with him, and enriching his judgment and his memory with them all, can bear them through the week in one full treasury of comfort and improvement—that on the strength of her great and elevating principles a man in rags may become rich in faith, and looking forward through the vista of his earthly anticipations, can see on the other side of all the hardship and of all the suffering with which they are associated the reversion of a splendid eternity. Ay, my brethren, such a religion as this should be made to find its way into every cottage and to circulate throughout all the lanes and avenues of a crowded population, and the friend of the species might take it along with him to the tenements of want and of wretchedness, and knocking at every door where there is a human voice to bid him enter, he may rest assured that if charged with the message of the gospel, humanity in its rudest forms may hang upon his lips, and rejoice and be moralized by the utterance which flows from them. But, my brethren, while I would thus have the religion of the New Testament to send her penetrating influences through the great mass of the towns and families of the community, I would not have her to skulk in timid and suspicious distance from the proudest haunts either of wealth or of philosophy. I would have her to carry, as she well might, such a front of reason, and to lift such a voice of eloquence, and to fill her mouth with such a power and variety of argument, as should compel the most enlightened of the land to do her reverence. I would have her—with as firm and assured footstep as Paul ascended the hill of Areopagus, and amid the assembled literature of Athens drew an argument for the gospel from the poetry and the mythology of Athens—I would have her even now to make her fearless way through the halls and the universities of modern Europe, and as she stood confronted with the erudition of academic men, I would have her to equal and to outvie them. Oh ! tell me why it should be otherwise ! Tell me why the majesty of truth should ever want an able advocate to assert and to proclaim it, or why the recorded communication from God should ever want a defender of learning to vindicate its evidence and its history !

" I shall only say, that if the public, on the one hand, and the advocates for a learned, and a spiritual, and a separated order of clergymen, rich in mental accomplishments, and at liberty to give their ample and their exclusive leisure to the labours of the closet and the strict work of the ministry, on the other,—if these two parties be at variance, then we do not hesitate for a single moment to assert that the public are most glaringly and most outrageously in the wrong; that, in this instance, as in many others, the voice of the people is most assuredly not the voice of God; that be it as loud or as urgent as it may, it is the part of a conscientious man to let it rave idly around him till its own violence shall expend it; and wishing, as I do, my brethren, to combine the firmness of principle with the mildness of friendship to every one of you, I think it right to say, that after we have fairly emerged out of this contest it will be found that he with whom it originated, while he appeared to many of you to be the advocate of his own selfish accommodation, was, in fact, advocating the best interests of that misguided population who were opposed to him."

One way in which the clerical emancipation so strongly contended for might be at least partially attained, was by the lay members of the Church coming forward to the relief of their ministers, and the platform as well as the pulpit was employed to invoke their aid. Dr. Chalmers was invited to take part in the proceedings of the Anniversary Meeting of the Glasgow Bible Society. It was the first meeting of this kind at which he had spoken in that city This was, besides, his own favourite Society, for which he had written and laboured so much during the first years of his regenerated ministry at Kilmany. The motion, however, which happened to be assigned to him was a vote of thanks to *one* clergyman and *two* laymen. This conjunction of the two species of agency was irresistible; and the special objects of the Bible Society being all for the time forgotten, he launched out upon the engrossing topic, summoning his fellow-citizens to the help of an overburdened ministry, and strenuously urging that the administration not only of the benevolent but of the religious institutions of the city should be thrown mainly, if not wholly, upon laymen.*

But even that, could it have been gained, was not enough. A few weeks among the wynds of the Saltmarket had wrought the conviction in his mind, that if these swarming multitudes were to be reclaimed, who, hidden from the public eye, were living in ignorance and guilt, and dying in darkness, a large band of fellow-labourers must go down and enter with him upon the spiritual cultivation of the neglected territory. As yet, however, but little could be expected from the regular office-bearers of his congregation. "Till Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow," so says a most competent authority,† "parochial Christian influence was a mere name—it was not systematic, it was not understood—there was not the machinery for the moral elevation of a town population. The people were let alone. Some of the elders of the Tron Church were excellent men, but their chief duty was to stand at the plate, receive the free-will offerings of the congregation as they entered, and distribute them to the poor by a monthly allowance. Their spiritual duties and exertions were but small, and almost exclusively confined to a few of the sick." On Friday the 20th December 1816, in the vestry of the Tron Church, a few younger and less prejudiced men, who might be more efficient coadjutors, were ordained to the office of the eldership, and we refer such of our readers as desire to enter fully into the spirit of the earlier period of Dr. Chalmers's ministry in Glasgow, to the Charge which he delivered upon this occasion.‡ One thing that address very clearly tells us—that the wisdom, caution, and kindness with which he urged forward his contemplated reformations were equal to the indomitable energy displayed. His strong hand not only never tried to put new wine into old bottles, but it was with a very gentle motion that even into the new bottles the new wine was poured.

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* For the speech delivered upon this occasion, see Appendix E.

† David Stow, Esq.

‡ For the address upon this occasion see Appendix F.

There was, however, one region of effort open to instant occupation, without waiting for any official reformations. It had surprised Dr. Chalmers to observe the lamentable extent of ignorance among the young,—very few of the children among the lowest class of the community being in attendance upon Sabbath evening schools. Convinced that if more of these schools were opened in various districts of his parish, and vigorous means were taken by actual visitation of the families to bring out the children, a very large increase of attendance might be secured, he invited a few members of his congregation to form themselves into a Society for this purpose. At the second meeting of this Society, held on the 10th December 1816, Mr. Collins reported, that on the preceding Sabbath he had opened in Campbell Street the first of the projected schools, with an attendance of thirteen children. The schools rapidly multiplied—the attendance in each increased—new teachers volunteered, and at the end of two years it was found that upwards of 1200 children were under regular religious instruction. No young person was received into these schools who could not read the Bible with considerable distinctness and accuracy. The Bible, the Shorter Catechism, and the Scripture References were the class-books generally used, but no fixed rules for the management of the schools were laid down. Subject to the regulation that he should introduce no new class-book without submitting it for the consideration of the Society, each teacher was left to take his own way in the teaching or training of his own class. Monthly meetings afforded regular opportunities of communication as to the best and most effective methods of instruction. "Our meetings," says one of the members of the Society, " were very delightful. I never saw any set of men who were so animated by one spirit, and whose zeal was so steadily sustained. The Doctor was the life of the whole. There was no assuming of superiority—no appearance of the minister directing every thing ; every one was free to make remarks or suggestions, Dr. Chalmers ever the most ready to receive a hint or a suggestion from the youngest or least experienced member ; and if any useful hint came from such a one he was careful to give him the full merit of it—calling it, indeed, generally by his name. Although we had no set forms of teaching, yet we conversed over all the modes that we might find out the best. On one point we had much discussion, namely, whether or not punishment should be resorted to in a Sabbath-school. Mr. Stow was very strenuous in condemning its introduction—I was rather inclined the other way. Among other strong cases, Mr. Stow told us of a boy who had been so restless, idle, and mischievous, that he was afraid he would have to put him away, when the thought occurred to him to give the boy an office. He put, accordingly, all the candles of the school under his care. From that hour he was an altered boy, and became a diligent scholar. An opportunity soon occurred of trying my way of it also. A school composed of twenty or thirty boys, situated in the east end of the parish, had become so unruly and unmanageable, that it had beaten off every teacher who had gone to it. The Society did not know what to do with it, and the Doctor asked me if I would go out and try to reduce it to order. I was not very fond of the task, but consented. I went out the next Sabbath, and told the boys, whom I found all assembled, that I had heard a very bad account of them, that I had come out for the purpose of doing them good, that I must have peace and attention, that I would submit to no disturbance, and that, in the first place, we must begin with prayer. They all stood up, and I commenced, and certainly did not forget the injunction,—Watch and pray. I had not proceeded two sentences, when one little fellow gave his neighbour a tremendous *dig* in the side; I instantly stepped forward and gave *him* a sound cuff on the side of his head. I never spoke a word, but stepped back, concluded the prayer, taught for a month, and never had a more orderly school. The case was reported at one of our own meetings. The Doctor enjoyed it exceedingly, and taking up my instance and comparing it with Mr. Stow's, he concluded that the question of punishment or non-punishment stood just where it was, inasmuch as it had been found that the judicious appointment of a candle-snuffer-general and a good cuff on the *lug* had been about equally efficacious."*

The first schools of this Society were strictly parochial, that is, none but children residing within the bounds of the Tron Church parish were admitted to them, but they were not strictly or limitedly local. About a year after their institution, a new teacher having been admitted, Dr. Chalmers asked one of his elders to go with him to the Saltmarket, that from a number of contiguous families they might collect as many children as would fill the new school. They secured a room at the entrance of a long close. After going through the families living in this single lane, and summing up the number of children, there were found to be twenty-eight who had promised to attend. "I think," said Mr. Thomson, "that we have got plenty." The idea of a separate school in and for a single close pleased Dr. Chalmers amazingly. "Yes !" he exclaimed, "this is the true local plan : we will just fix down Mr. R. to this close ; we will make it his parish ; let him visit all the families here, and look after all the children ; that will be an effectual preaching of the gospel from door to door." From this time the plan of marking out a small and definite locality, getting a room for the school within its limits, and charging the teacher with the educational oversight of all its families, was adopted and enforced. The strong additional stimulus imparted to the teachers by having a small and specific locality to work in, and a definite and overtakable work to do; its increased efficacy in calling out the attendance of the children, who were far readier to go to a schoolroom so near than to one more distant, and upon whom the gregarious principle came thus to operate with much more force; the bringing of the teacher into closer acquaintance with all the families of his district, and the bringing of those families into something like acquaintance with one another; but, above all, its pervading influence, its power thoroughly to diffuse the leaven of Christian influence through that portion of the mass on which it operated, these all pleaded so many recommendations of this system of local Sabbath-schools. To those schools in the Saltmarket in which it was first adopted an historic interest is attached. At a meeting held in Glasgow twenty years afterwards, and when he was engaged in the still greater work of adding two hundred churches to the equipment of the Establishment, Dr. Chalmers "adverted to a letter he had received from Mr. Heggie, a Sabbath-school teacher in the Saltmarket. This gentleman, he said, had been attached to that locality for a long period. And that which conferred the chief importance on this Sabbath-school was, that with it was connected every opinion he had formed of the necessity of the parochial and of the territorial system. When he came to Glasgow he was connected with the Tron parish. His first attention was directed to the young. He found that there was a general Sabbath-school Society existing in Glasgow, by which many Sabbath-schools were established throughout the city. The schools were taught on no particular plan, and scholars were welcome to come to them from all parts of the city to receive religious instruction from the teachers on Sabbath evenings. A survey was taken of the Tron parish—the population of which was then 11,000—and he found that the number of children in the parish who attended the Sabbath-schools, on the general Sabbath-school system, did not exceed one hundred. He was satisfied that such a parish might yield a greater number of children capable of receiving Sabbath-school instruction. Accordingly he devised the *local* Sabbath-school system. In other words, instead of having schools for children coming from all parts of the city, and for those who had a previous will to attend on a particular teacher, he divided the parish into forty different sections, allotting thirty or forty houses to each section. He appointed local teachers for each section, and told each of them that his specific business was, instead of taking children from all parts of the city, and those who had a previous inclination to attend, that he should go forth within the limits of his district, and visit every family, telling them he had a Sabbath-school in the neighbourhood, and requesting the parents to send their children to it. Instead of waiting for them to come to him his part was to go to them, and induce the parents to send their children to the school. What was the result? His excellent friend, Mr. Heggie, had one or two closes in the Saltmarket attached to his school, and there was not a single family who did not send their children to him to be instructed. He had a goodly attendance of thirty or forty of them. What was true of his district was also true of all the other districts in the Tron parish. In consequence of attaching a territorial district to each Sabbath-school, and making it the business of the teacher to go to the children to get them to attend it, instead of waiting till they came to him—instead of having an attendance of little more than one hundred, as under the old general system, he had the satisfaction of preaching to an assemblage of not less than one thousand two hundred Sabbath scholars. Now, this had convinced him of the great superiority of the local to the general system of Sabbath-school instruction. The first thing that suggested the great argument he employed in support of the territorial system was the difference in the amount of attendance between the local and the general system of Sabbath-school instruction."*

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* MS. Memoranda by James Thomson, Esq.

On Dr. Chalmers's removal from the Tron Church to that of St. John's, four of the teachers in these Saltmarket schools organized themselves into a separate Society. They chose as the field of their operations both sides of the Saltmarket, with the numerous lanes which branch off from them, containing a population of 3624 souls, out of which when they began their labours there were only 128 children attending any Sabbath-school. Instead of extending their operations at once over the whole of the space, each appropriated a small locality, exerting all his influence to induce others to come and help them. In six months their numbers were complete—the space was covered—twenty-six schools were opened—thirty-three teachers, including visitors, were engaged, and instead of 128 children 732 were in attendance. "These schools continue to the present day, and there have flowed from this small local Sabbath-school Society eight other Societies, in different parts of the city and suburbs, all fairly traceable to the impetus given in the Tron parish by Dr. Chalmers in this branch of parochial economy. I consider had Dr. Chalmers done nothing more than promote the principle of this local system of Sabbath-schools, he would not have lived in vain. You can easily conceive the labour and fatigue he must have undergone, first to convince his agents of the propriety of his plan, and then to keep them from breaking the rules. You also know the difficulty of retaining Sabbath-school teachers for any lengthened period under any system of management, untrained as they are to the art, and over-sanguine of *immediate* results. The Doctor's Christian simplicity, however, operated powerfully in retaining nearly all." *

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* Extracted from the *Scottish Guardian*, 25th December 1838.

It was not, however, upon a flowing tide of approval or popularity that these Sabbath-school operations at the commencement moved. It was very much the reverse. There were indeed a few, who from the very beginning hailed them with delight. But over the general public of Glasgow the spirit of religious indifference as yet strongly prevailed. That spirit looked upon such efforts with cold dislike, and when stirred into quicker life by such energy as was now embarked in their prosecution, it kindled into a disdainful opposition, and tried to fill its mouth with arguments. These Sabbath-schools, it was said, would interfere with the proper domestic training of the young. They were engaging laymen in what was fit and suitable employment for clergymen alone. They would be the means of disseminating a spirit of fanatical piety throughout the land. Not satisfied with the actual doing of the work, Dr. Chalmers desired to be its protector, and to turn, if he could, that tide of public feeling which was running against it. In one of his Tron Church sermons, delivered about the end of the year 1816, he entered upon a vigorous and most animated defence of Sabbath-schools, the very tone and manner of which sufficiently testifies as to the state of public feeling at that time in Glasgow.† "It is not easy for me," he said in closing this defence, "to describe my general feeling in reference to the population with which I have more immediately to do. I feel as if it were a mighty and impenetrable mass, truly beyond the strength of one individual arm, and before which, after a few furtive and unavailing exertions, nothing remains but to sit down in the idleness of despair. It is a number, it is a magnitude, it is an endless succession of houses and families, it is an extent of field which puts at a distance all hope of a deep or universal impression—it is an utter impossibility, even with the most active process of visitation, to meet the ever pressing demands of the sick, and the desolate, and the dying,—it is all this, I confess, which tempts me to seek for relief in some wise and efficient system of deputation. In these circumstances I do feel greatly obliged by every contribution to the great cause of instructing and of moralizing. I do rejoice particularly in the multiplication of those humble and often despised seminaries. I think, I am certain that they are well suited to the present needs and circumstances of our population, that they may be made to open up a way through a mass that would be otherwise impenetrable, and to circulate a right and a healthy influence through all the untravelled obscurities which abound in it—that an unction of blessedness may emanate abroad upon every neighbourhood in which they are situated—that they occupy a high point of command over the moral destinies of our city,* for the susceptibilities of childhood and of youth are what they have to deal with. It is a tender and flexible plant to which they aim at giving a direction. It is conscience at the most impressible stage of its history which they attempt to touch, and on which they labour to engrave the lessons of conduct and of principle. And I doubt not that when we are mouldering in our coffins, when the present race of men have disappeared and made room for another succession of the species, when parents of every cast and of every character have sunk into oblivion, and sleep together in quietness, the teachers of these institutions will leave behind them a surviving memorial of their labour, in a large portion of that worth and piety which shall adorn the citizens of a future generation."

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* Memoranda by David Stow, Esq.

† The reader will find this defence in Appendix G.

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* "One fact is not an argument, or rather we must not draw a general conclusion from any one particular fact; but I may state one which occurred in reference to St. John's parish, which is very conclusive in its own department. Sixteen or eighteen of my Sabbath scholars, who had come to the knowledge of the truth, and who had been my pupils for about a dozen years, desirous of extending a knowledge of Christ to their perishing brethren, chose for themselves a locality in the Barony parish, which was only 200 yards distant from my district, and in which most of these young men and women resided. I may mention that the two parishes of St. John's and Barony are divided simply by the breadth of a narrow street. The opposite side to St. John's, therefore, was fixed upon for establishing themselves as local Sabbath-school teachers, and as particular a note was taken of the statistics of each family as Dr. Chalmers recommended in St. John's. The following is the result of that survey on the subject of education :—Out of 123 families on the Barony side there were found 134 children above six years of age who could not read, and were not at school; whereas on the St. John's side of the street, out of 106 families, there were only three not at school. Of the former scarcely any were in Sabbath-schools; in the latter the greater proportion were in attendance. These young Sabbath-school teachers were afterwards active agents in getting up St. Luke's Church, and getting it formed into a *quoad sacra* parish."—*MS. Memoranda of David Stow, Esq.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE VACANCY AT STIRLING—THE APPOINTMENT OFFERED AND REFUSED—ARTICLES ON PAUPERISM IN THE EDINBURGH REVIEW—EXCURSION TO ANSTRUTHER—SUDDEN RECALL—SERMON ON THE DEATH OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—REASON OF ITS PUBLICATION—ARGUMENT ON BEHALF OF RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS—ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH SYSTEM OF PAUPER MANAGEMENT COMPARED—HIGHEST EXHIBITIONS OF HIS POWER AS A PULPIT ORATOR—SINGULAR SCENES IN THE COLLEGE CHAPEL AND IN THE TRON CHURCH—EXTRACTS FROM HIS JOURNAL—INSTANCE OF HIS USEFULNESS—HIS OWN ESTIMATE OF POPULARITY.

A REPORT of the two memorable sermons of the 13th October 1816, and of the circumstances which had occasioned their delivery, reached the good town of Stirling when the first ministerial charge there happened to be vacant. Believing that the discomforts of his existing position might tempt him to leave Glasgow, the Town Council promptly resolved to offer the appointment to Dr. Chalmers. That their application might bear upon him with the greatest possible effect, the Provost, and a select deputation of the citizens, visited Glasgow and invited Dr. Chalmers to dine with them at the Tontine. Every thing was done by them to set forth the facilities which the offered situation would present for the furtherance of his cherished designs. They guaranteed an entire deliverance from all distracting external annoyances: in the city nothing but purely ministerial work would be required of him, and at home his hours for study would be sacredly guarded from invasion The manse lay almost within the shadow of the Castle rock, and, if needful, the Castle guns would be turned upon the way which led to it, to drive back all disturbers of his time or tranquillity. The prospect of such perfect freedom and security was too tempting to be at once and peremptorily declined. His final decision was communicated to Provost Littlejohn in the following terms:—

"GLASGOW, 17*th February* 1817.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Be assured I perform a most painful duty in stating to you my resolution of declining the offer of the charge in Stirling with which you have favoured me. You have incurred much trouble in this matter, and I cannot bear that you should incur any further suspense. To yourself personally, and to the good town over which you are called in Providence to preside, I feel the most unbounded gratitude, and shall ever look upon myself as united with them by a tie of no common interest and obligation. My friends in this quarter have, in fact, disarmed me of every one argument for leaving them. That exemption from secular duties which, with a liberality and a correct estimate of the importance of ministerial work you were so willing to allow, I consider as most thoroughly and conclusively established for me in this place; and my congregation have come forward with such an offer of assistance to me in my ministerial duties as to give to my present office all the lightness and facility of a collegiate charge. In these circumstances I feel that I have no alternative. There is an extent of field in this quarter which gives a decided preponderance to its claims; and I can assure you, that upon any other decision than the one I have taken, I could not have felt myself acquitted in the sight of God and of my own conscience. With assurances of the tenderest and most grateful regard, and many prayers that you may be abundantly directed to the choice of a pastor who, after God's own heart, shall feed you with words of knowledge and understanding, believe me to be, my dear Sir, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The same post which brought this letter conveyed also to Mr. Littlejohn the following communication from his friend the late Dr. Chrystal :—"My Dear Sir,—I leave Dr. Chalmers's letter of this date to speak for itself. His answer was only made known to-day, and the moment he made up his mind he sent me a note of the result. I have been with him since. He is confined to the house in consequence of exerting so much yesterday. The magistrates were in his church, and he is supposed never to have acquitted himself so ably. No sooner was it known that you and your brethren had been here and made him the offer of your first charge than the whole town was astir. He was like to be mobbed by solicitations suggested by friendship, respect, gratitude, arising from clergy, laity, general session, congregation, urging on him duty, religion, and everything I can name or suppose—not to move. At first he remained firm, as his objections to certain things he has to do here were well known. Everything however has been done which can be done to relieve him, and he now assures me that he has a moral certainty of getting these difficulties removed. A congregational meeting was held. They have offered him a regular assistant,* to be chosen by him and twenty-one of a committee named by themselves. This assistant is to do half the duty on Sabbath, and to relieve him through the week. They bind themselves to bear this additional burden during Dr. Chalmers's incumbency, and although little time has elapsed since the idea was fixed, they have already subscribed nearly £200, to be continued annually. They are to buy or rent a house for him in any place he wishes, and propose raising his stipend to I know not what. Considering what they have done, and are doing, and probably will do, it was impossible for him to tear himself from people so sincerely attached, and so forward to do everything which they could think agreeable to him. It is supposed that he will not allow them to carry things to the proposed length, but it obliged him to give the refusal to you which was painful to him. I am persuaded that you will see that he could not well do otherwise. I think you had his private wishes, if he could have sacrificed to private ease and emolument the strong claims which his people here have to his labours among them."

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* See Appendix H.

Dr. Chalmers did not allow things to be carried to the proposed length. The offer of a manse and of an increase of income were respectfully declined; but he gratefully accepted the offer of an assistant. Additional labour would be thereby bestowed upon parochial cultivation, while at the same time additional leisure would be secured to himself for literary engagements. His first article on Pauperism appeared in the March Number of the "Edinburgh Review," and he had engaged to follow it up by a comparison of the English and Scottish systems of parochial relief. His visit to England, and the large arrears of ministerial labour awaiting his return, filled up the summer months; and there was so little hope of finding time enough in Glasgow, that he resolved on a short excursion to Anstruther, during which his second article was to be drawn up.* His first journal-letter upon this occasion was addressed to his eldest daughter.

"Polmont, *November* 10*th*, 1817.

"My Dear Anne,—You want me to stay away only four days, but I must stay away nineteen days. However, by the time you have gotten this letter it will only be fifteen days. After I shook hands with you I went to Mr. Harley's and got my horse. Then I met Dr. Rainy, who wanted me to go and see poor Mr. A., who used sometimes to drink tea with mamma, and who was dying. He was so very ill that he could not see papa, and his sister was lying in a sofa, very sorry and crying because she was going to lose her brother. She was in great distress, insomuch that papa could say nothing to comfort her. Nobody knows when they are to die. I hope Mr. A. was a good man, and will go to heaven. And I should like Anne to be a good girl, so that when she dies God may take her to heaven too. He loves all good people, and Jesus Christ, His Son, will come down to the world and take them up with Him to the place where God dwells, and there they will always be happy and will never die.

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* For both these articles on Pauperism, see *Works*, vol. xx. pp. 247-363.

"When papa saw that he could say nothing to relieve poor Mrs. B., he went away and got upon his horse and rode on to Cumbernauld. He has got no rain all this day, but the road was very very bad, and his boots were very dirty. It was after one o'clock when he arrived at Cumbernauld, and his horse was very much tired, and he gave it a feed of corn, and he himself dined, and read a book about the poor; but what he is very sorry for, he also read some of the small Testament, and forgot to bring it away with him. But he has written to the master of the house to send it by one of his drivers to Glasgow. It was given him by Captain Gordon, and he would not like to lose it; so if it should come, you must see that it be taken great care of, and be ready to give it to Papa when he comes back again.

"I rode after dinner to this place, and came here at five o'clock, and have drunk tea, and am spending an hour or two here before supper, and am reading about the poor, and spending part of the time in writing to Anne. The name of the gentleman who lives in this house is Mr. M'Farlane, and there are four children, three girls and one boy. One of the girls is just as tall and as old as you. The little boy is a good deal burned in the face by an accident that happened yesterday to him. I am now going down to talk with Mr. M'Farlane before supper. You must know that the little children here have no mamma, though they have a papa. Their poor mamma died some time ago, and you should be very thankful to God that He still lets your papa and mamma live, and if you pray that God may spare the life of your parents He perhaps may hear you."

"I should think," Dr. Chalmers writes, "that the reading of the above may amuse Anne. It is a good thing to keep her mind in exercise, and I beg that you may give her every impression you can of the magnitude and sacredness of this topic."

"*Tuesday.*—Had about two hours and a half of study in the forenoon. Have begun my review. Took an early dinner at Polmont, and left it at two. There was slight rain so that Mr. M'Farlane could not accompany me in a convoy. I got to Queensferry before five. Am still on this side of the water. Have had a very diligent and successful evening in the inn, wrote above my average quantity of the review. Have written to Sandy about my Kirkaldy plan, so as to get a secure retreat in his room, and am now going to bed. The inn is quiet. The people do not know me, and I am not treated with very great distinction. I proposed family worship to the landlady, and she declined it, though civilly, and on the score of being very throng.

"*Wednesday.*—Started at half-past seven, breakfasted between nine and ten. Had some composition before breakfast, and in the forenoon I completed more than my average quantity, though not so satisfactorily as yesterday. Dined at two. Before I left the place I was recognised, and more distinction was awarded to me. I was addressed as Doctor, both by the ostler and in the boat. Crossed between three and four. Had a passage of fifteen minutes. Rode smartly to Burntisland, which I reached at five. Was most cordially received. * * *

"Mr. Young is very angry with me just now, because I am expressing some polite regrets at the trouble that I am giving him in procuring me a wafer. He insists on my closing this letter, as the post goes off at eight. So we will even keep Mr. Archibald waiting a little. I said to Mr. M'Farlane that I understood Thomson was going to give me a dressing in his 'Instructor,' at which he expressed his surprise, for that he knew Mr. Thomson admired the 'Discourses' most enthusiastically. In which case it is probable that his application will not be altogether of an unpalatable nature."

Filling the week up pleasantly, and having made a prosperous outset in his article for the "Edinburgh Review," Dr. Chalmers reached Starbank on Saturday evening, and having announced his arrival to Mr. Cook, was requested to preach at Kilmany on the following day. On the way to church a letter was handed to him which broke up all his plans. The recent death of the Princess Charlotte had plunged the nation into a grief wider, deeper, and more tender than perhaps any similar event has ever occasioned in this country. Partaking in the general desire to observe it with all due solemnity, the Magistrates of Glasgow had resolved that there should be public and appropriate services in all the churches of the city on Wednesday the 19th—the day fixed for the burial at Windsor. The letter which Dr. Chalmers got at Kilmany on the 16th was a summons to return and occupy the pulpit of the Tron on the approaching solemnity. His answer to the unwelcome summons was brief and laconic:—

"*Kirkaldy, Sunday Night.*—Your letter only reached me as I was going to the church at Kilmany, where I preached this day. I shall try and be with you. But I understand now that the funeral is to be on Wednesday, and I shall find this convenient. It is a shocking place Glasgow; and I never knew what it was yet to have an excursion from it without some trash or other being sent after me." On Monday Dr. Chalmers posted from Kirkaldy to Queensferry, got an outside seat on the Edinburgh mail, arrived in Glasgow between five and six o'clock on Tuesday morning, and on Wednesday forenoon preached one of his most brilliant discourses, composed during the intervals, and after the exhaustion of this rapid and fatiguing journey. It was at one or other of the inns by the road side that, escaping from the bustle, and throwing himself into the pathetic incident which had touched the nation's heart so deeply, he penned the following sentences:—"A few days ago, all looked so full of life, and promise, and security, when we read of the bustle of the great preparation, and were told of the skill and the talent that were pressed into the service, and heard of the goodly attendance of the most eminent in the nation, and how officers of state, and the titled dignitaries of the land, were charioted in splendour to the scene of expectation, as to the joys of an approaching holiday—yes, and we were told too, that the bells of the surrounding villages were all in readiness for the merry peal of gratulation, and that the expectant metropolis of our empire, on tiptoe for the announcement of her future monarch, had her winged couriers of despatch to speed the welcome message to the ears of her citizens, and that from her an embassy of gladness was to travel over all the provinces of the land; and the country, forgetful of all that she had suffered, was at length to offer the spectacle of one wide and rejoicing jubilee. O death! thou hast indeed chosen the time and the victim, for demonstrating the grim ascendency of thy power over all the hopes and fortunes of our species! Our blooming Princess, whom fancy had decked with the coronet of these realms, and under whose gentle sway all bade so fair for the good and the peace of our nation, has he placed upon her bier!—And, as if to fill up the measure of his triumph, has he laid by her side that babe, who but for him might have been the monarch of a future generation; and he has done that, which by no single achievement he could otherwise have accomplished—he has sent forth over the whole of our land, the gloom of such a bereavement as cannot be replaced by any living descendant of royalty—he has broken the direct succession of the monarchy of England—by one and the same disaster has he wakened up the public anxieties of the country, and sent a pang as acute as that of the most woful domestic visitation into the heart of each of its families."

Although so hastily prepared, this sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte was not to be speedily forgotten. On the day after its delivery an article appeared in one of the Glasgow newspapers, representing a passage in it—of broadest and most general application—as specially directed against the supporters of the existing Government. Dr. Chalmers was exceedingly annoyed that he should be thought capable of abusing so sacred an occasion by making the pulpit a vehicle of political invective. His friends advised him to publish the discourse in self-defence. Unwilling to commit to the press a sermon so hastily prepared, and now once more engrossed with his article on Pauperism, he left Glasgow on Monday the 24th, hoping to escape from the ferment which his sermon had occasioned, and to complete at Anstruther the work which had been so painfully interrupted at Kilmany. At his first resting place by the way the irritation was renewed:—"*Dunfermline. 24th November.*—I see," he writes, "the vile article in the Chronicle copied by the Scotsman, the most Whiggish paper in Edinburgh." His unsettled purpose was confirmed on the following day, by the advice of one in whose friendly judgment he reposed much confidence.—" *Tuesday.*—Rode with Mr. Chalmers to Broomhall. Lord Elgin had heard of the sermon from Sir John Oswald, who had been on a visit, and received the mischievous impression of it which the paper is calculated to give. He took Mr. Chalmers aside, and had a long confab with him about it, of which Mr. Chalmers told me on leaving us. I had previously read the misrepresented passage to Mr. Chalmers, and he gave his Lordship the true impression of it. At his request I read the whole of it to the family; and his Lordship insists most strenuously upon its publication, and says that he is greatly obliged to the Chronicle for drawing me out, and that if I will not appear in a few days, I may look for another article from himself still more outrageous, and which he trusts will have the effect."

The sermon was published on the 13th December; and from all intention of specific political allusion its author at once stood vindicated. A large portion of the discourse had been occupied with a pleading for a more extensive ecclesiastical provision for our large towns. " On this day of national calamity, if ever the subject should be adverted to from the pulpit, we may be allowed to express our rivetted convictions on the close alliance that obtains between the political interests and the religious character of a country. And I am surely not out of place when, on looking at the mighty mass of a city population, I state my apprehension, that if something be not done to bring this enormous physical strength under the control of Christian and humanized principle, the day may yet come when it may lift against the authorities of the land its brawny vigour, and discharge upon them all the turbulence of its rude and volcanic energy." Personal and local influences conspired to direct his thoughts into this peculiar channel. He had lately finished his own survey of the Tron Church parish, and by personal inquiries within every dwelling, he had found, that out of 11,120 souls there were not more than 3500 who had seats or were in the habit of worshipping in any church. In many districts two-thirds of the adult population had wholly cast off the very form and profession of Christianity. Dissent had done much, twice as much, as in its hampered and ill administered condition the Established Church had done to arrest the evil; but such, despite of all previous efforts, was the awful magnitude to which that evil had already attained, growing too in a much more rapid ratio than did the general increase of the population. After the most anxious and profound reflection—reflection based upon personal and minute observation of the condition and habits of the lowest and poorest of the people, Dr. Chalmers was convinced that the only effective remedy was to purify, remodel, and extend the parochial economy. The extension of that economy was what, perhaps, might be soonest attained, as the want of it could most easily be made apparent. During a period of nearly one hundred years, while the population had more than quadrupled, only two new city churches had been built in Glasgow. Thirty-seven years had elapsed since the last addition to the number had been made. It had not been the fault of the clergymen or other friends of the Established Church that the public provision for the religious instruction of a population so largely augmented had been allowed to remain so inadequate. So lately as in the year 1810 a vigorous effort had been made to induce the magistrates to erect six additional churches. The opposition, however, raised by those who objected to an assessment being levied from the whole community for the exclusive benefit of any one religious denomination, was so strenuous that they were unable to attain their object. And now, when Dr. Chalmers's parochial labours were laying open to the public eye the fearful spiritual condition of large masses of the people, another similar attempt was made. All, however, that the magistrates had been able to do was to erect a single additional church, the foundations of which had been laid a few months before the sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte was delivered. This act of theirs was alluded to in that sermon with undissembled satisfaction, but it was characterized at the same time as but the first step of a process which would need to be mightily extended ere the existing destitution could be effectively overtaken. Nor did he hesitate, at the very time that they were congratulating themselves on the building of this *one* church, to declare that twenty more churches and twenty more ministers were still required. A proposal which, ignorant as so many of them were of the necessities of this case, looked Utopian and extravagant, startled even the friends of the Establishment, and stirred anew the former opposition. Dr. Chalmers thought it desirable, therefore, to annex to his Discourse a brief Appendix, stating what the actual amount of the destitution was, as ascertained by his own personal inspection, and striving to remove one of the most formidable objections which had been raised against that peculiar instrument of relief, the employment and extension of which he advocated. Dr. Adam Smith had argued against religious establishments on the ground, that like any common article of merchandise religious instruction should be left to the ordinary operation of demand and supply. Dr. Chalmers came forward with the reply, that in all cases where the want of anything instead of weakening the appetite for it whetted that appetite, it might be best and safest to leave matters to the pure operations of nature. But what made this case of religious destitution peculiar, and prevented any argument grounded on the ordinary operations of commerce being legitimately applied to it, was, that not only did the natural and effective demand fall short of the actual necessity, but that the demand lessened as the necessity increased, until at last, when the want was greatest, desire for its relief was almost or altogether unfelt. This argument, now so familiar to statesmen as well as theologians—of which a few years ago Lord Brougham made effective use in the House of Lords, without however any allusion to its author—was first broached by Dr. Chalmers in the appendix to this sermon published in 1817, and it is interesting to notice that it was in connexion with the practical question of reaching and recovering from their low estate an outcast city population that he first publicly alluded to the general or more abstract question of Religious Establishments.

The sheets of his sermon, with its preface and appendix, were passing through the press, while Dr. Chalmers, immersed in Parliamentary Reports as to the operation of the Poor-Laws in England, was engaged at Anstruther in completing his article for Mr. Jeffrey. As he had not yet made himself extensively or familiarly acquainted with the state of pauperism in England, he reserved to some future occasion the suggestion of the proper remedy for evils which had become so glaring as to be universally acknowledged. He knew enough, however, of the English system of assessment to deprecate its introduction into Scotland, and enough of the state of matters in both countries as to pauper management to institute such a comparison between them as should vindicate an appeal to his countrymen to resist to the uttermost the threatened invasion from the South. It so happened that at this period our island presented all possible varieties of treatment of the poor. There were all the parishes of England, where for two hundred years a compulsory provision for the poor had been enforced ; there was a number of Scottish parishes, chiefly along the borders, into which, at different periods during the preceding half century, the principle of assessment had been introduced ; while to the north of the Forth and Clyde, there were not twenty parishes in Scotland where the old system of parochial management, in which the only fund for the relief of the poor consisted of voluntary contributions at the church-doors, did not still prevail.* Most interesting and instructive conclusions were furnished by a simple inspection and comparison of these three classes of parishes. In the Scottish unassessed parishes the sums raised for the support of the poor ranged from £10 to £50 per annum for each thousand of the population. In the English assessed parishes the sums raised for a like purpose ranged from £500 to £1500 for each thousand of the population. In the recently assessed border parishes the sums varied, inclining to the English or to the Scottish rates according to the length of time during which the assessment had existed, with this however as a general feature characterizing all of them, that the assessment had almost invariably increased at a much more rapid rate than the population. Comparing, then, an English and a Scottish parish of equal population, whose inhabitants were engaged in like employments and possessed the same resources, why was it that in the one case the expenditure for the poor was £1500 and in the other £50? Dr. Chalmers sought and found the explanation of this difference in the existence in the former case of a public fund raised by legal enforcement and of indefinite amount, upon which the poor were taught—or at least universally imagined—that they had a right to draw whenever, owing to whatever cause, they were in want. Such a fund necessarily generated a feeling of security as to future maintenance altogether independent of present character or conduct. It destroyed that strongest of all natural incitements to industry and prudence which operates when a man knows that if he do not work, or if he thoughtlessly squander, he and his family must starve; it relaxed the obligations of relationship, throwing upon the public for support those aged or infirm persons whom it should have been the pride and pleasure of their own children or other near relatives to sustain; it weakened the force of all those kindly sympathies which want or suffering is sure to awaken in every neighbourhood where nature is left to her own unchecked operations; thus closing currents of supply far fuller and healthier than any that it opened. It checked the private ministrations of the wealthy, who, the more that they gave upon compulsion, had the less to give upon the impulse of compassion; stripping of its true character the charity which it enforced, leaving nothing to spontaneous generosity in the giver, and awakening a sentiment very different from that of gratitude in the receiver. In such Scottish parishes as were yet untainted no such public fund existed, and no such consequences ensued. A spirit of honest and honourable independence there prevailed, which liked far better to trust to its own efforts than depend on others' aid; a thrifty economy which thought of the future, and out of the savings of a well-regulated industry provided for it; a genial play of kindly feelings among neighbours, and a ready help whenever help was needed and deserved; a deep sense of what the members of one family owed to each other when age took away the strength for toil, or when disease or death entered the dwelling; "the aged reposing with comfort and respect in the houses of their children, sitting in their allotted places of distinction by the evening fire, returning the filial piety by such little acts of helpfulness as their feebleness could still administer, and at length carried to their graves by the arms of descendants, who, out of their own hard and honest earnings, shielded the parents who gave them birth from a degradation they would have blushed to endure, and keeping them off the parish to the very last, so bore up the termination of their career as to sustain the dignity of its character throughout, and nobly to close its description as a career of unbroken and unsullied independence."

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* Prior to the year 1700, there were only *three* assessed parishes in Scotland.

When he looked upon this picture and upon that, upon the

English and the Scottish poor, we are not surprised that, in terror of the approaching calamity, and with strong desire to ward it off if possible, Dr. Chalmers should have said,—" We want no such ignominy to come near our Scottish population as that of *farming our poor.* We want no other asylum for our aged parents than that of their pious and affectionate families. We can neither suffer them, nor do we like the prospect for ourselves, of pining out the cheerless evening of our days away from the endearments of a home. We wish to do as long as we can without the apparatus of English laws and English workhouses; and should like to ward for ever from our doors the system that would bring an everlasting interdict on the worth, and independence, and genuine enjoyments of our peasantry. We wish to see their venerable sires surrounded, as heretofore, by the company and the playfulness of their own grandchildren; nor can we bear to think that our high-minded people should sink down and be satisfied with the dreary imprisonment of an almshouse as the closing object in the vista of their earthly anticipations. Yet such is the goodly upshot of a system which has its friends and advocates in our own country—men who could witness without a sigh the departure of all those peculiarities which have both alimented and adorned the character of our beloved Scotland—men who can gild over with the semblance of humanity a poisoned opiate of deepest injury both to its happiness and to its morals—and who, in the very act of flattering the poor, are only forging for them such chains as, soft in feeling as silk, but strong in proof as adamant, will bind them down to a state of permanent degradation."

Alarmed by the discussions which his sermon had provoked, Mrs. Chalmers had written to Dr. Chalmers from Glasgow, expressing her fears that his papers for the " Edinburgh Review" would plunge him still deeper into the troubled tide of politics. " I do feel myself," he said in answer, " in such circumstances with the 'Edinburgh Review,' and I do cherish such prospects of usefulness from my speculations on general politics, that I must make some clear and decided avowal on the subject of party politics. The violent of both parties will be offended, but all that are truly honest and independent in the country will approve — such as your Wilberforces and Lord Grenvilles, and the moderate Whigs and the moderate Tories, and the whole of the middle party both in Parliament and in the country. I wish to devote myself to my congregation as much as possible; but there are general calls upon me besides which I must not altogether resist, and for the sake of which it were perhaps well that I were without a congregation entirely. * * * I should, for myself, like a situation where there was less of glare and publicity and mobbish exhibition, and more of quiet study, relieved by converse with literary Christians, and by a far greater quantity of spiritual and improving converse with the inmates of my own family than I have hitherto held. * * * My mother writes me that my father has been seized with great weakness. Oh! that God would spare him and me for one visit more, when, free from the weight of every urgent call, I could devote the time and the strength of a whole fortnight to him!"

Hearing of his father's illness, which proved but temporary, while on the way to Edinburgh, where he had engaged to preach for the Hibernian Society, on Wednesday the 24th December, he wrote to his mother,—"It grieves me very much to hear of my dear father's illness, and I beg you to let me know of him particularly ere I leave Edinburgh. I mean to go to Edinburgh on Monday, and not to leave it till Thursday. A letter addressed to me at the Rev. Henry Grey's, Newington, Edinburgh, will be sure to reach me. It is my earnest prayer that your own mind may obtain strength and support from on high under the visitation of my father's illness, and that his mind may find a sure and a solid resting-place on the great Mediator."

"*Edinburgh, December 25th,* 1817.—I leave this on Saturday for Glasgow. I preached here yesterday. I infer from not hearing of you that my father is no worse; and I know not one earthly object I have nearer at heart than the preservation of his life, so that I may be enabled, with my whole family, to have intercourse with him in summer. It were well if we could draw away our affections from the world, and set them upon our reconciled Father in Jesus Christ our Lord. There is no want of willingness on His part, nor of freeness in the offer of mercy by Him. Were our faith as large as His faithfulness what a state of peace and joy and holiness it would translate us into. I pray that in your present situation you may have all the comfort of the Spirit of God working in you the blessed assurances of pardon and salvation through the blood of Jesus.

"I have just received your letter, and am greatly delighted to understand that my father is not worse. This will prove very acceptable news to our friends in Glasgow, who have been sending me letters of inquiry about him."

Dr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow on Saturday the 27th December, and on the following day found a prodigious crowd awaiting his appearance in the Tron Church pulpit. His popularity as a preacher was now at its very highest summit, and judging merely by the amount of physical energy displayed by the preacher, and by the palpable and visible effects produced upon his hearers, we conclude that it was about this period, and within the walls of the Tron Church, that by far the most wonderful exhibitions of his power as a pulpit orator were witnessed. "The Tron Church contains, if I mistake not," says the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, who, as frequently as he could, was a hearer in it, "about 1400 hearers, according to the ordinary allowance of seat-room; when crowded of course proportionally more. And, though I cannot attempt any pictorial sketch of the *place*, I may, in a sentence or two, present you with a few touches of the *scene* which I have, more than once or twice, witnessed within its walls; not that it was at all peculiar, for it resembled every other scene where the Doctor in those days, when his eloquence was in the prime of its vehemence and splendour, was called to preach. There was one particular, indeed, which rendered such a scene, in a city like Glasgow, peculiarly striking. I refer to the *time* of it. To see a place of worship, of the size mentioned, crammed above and below, on a *Thursday forenoon*, during the busiest hours of the day, with fifteen or sixteen hundred hearers, and these of all descriptions of persons, in all descriptions of professional occupation, the busiest as well as those who had most leisure on their hands, those who had least to spare taking care so to arrange their business engagements previously as to *make time* for the purpose, all pouring in through the wide entrance at the side of the Tron steeple, half an hour before the time of service, to secure a seat, or content if too late for this to occupy, as many did, standing room—this was, indeed, a novel and strange sight. Nor was it once merely, or twice, but month after month the day was calculated when his turn to preach again was to come round, and anticipated, with even impatient longing, by multitudes.

"Suppose the congregation thus assembled—pews filled with sitters, and aisles, to a great extent, with standers. They wait in eager expectation. The preacher appears. The devotional exercises of praise and prayer having been gone through with unaffected simplicity and earnestness, the entire assembly set themselves for the *treat*, with feelings very diverse in kind, but all eager and intent.. There is a hush of dead silence. The text is announced, and he begins. Every countenance is up—every eye bent, with fixed intentness, on the speaker. As he kindles the interest grows. Every breath is held—every cough is suppressed—every fidgetty movement is settled—every one, rivetted himself by the spell of the impassioned and entrancing eloquence, knows how sensitively his neighbour will resent the very slightest disturbance. Then, by and bye, there is a pause. The speaker stops—to gather breath—to wipe his forehead—to adjust his gown, and purposely too, and wisely, to give the audience, as well as himself, a moment or two of relaxation. The moment is embraced—there is free breathing—suppressed coughs get vent—postures are changed—there is a universal stir, as of persons who could not have endured the constraint much longer—the preacher bends forward—his hand is raised —all is again hushed. The same stillness and strain of unrelaxed attention is repeated, more intent still, it may be, than before, as the interest of the subject and of the speaker advance. And so, for perhaps four or five times in the course of a sermon, there is the *relaxation* and the '*at it again*' till the final winding up.

" And *then*, the moment the last word was uttered, and followed by the—'*let us pray*,' there was a scene for which no excuse or palliation can be pleaded but the fact of its having been to many a matter of difficulty, in the morning of a week-day, to accomplish the abstraction of even so much of their time from business—the closing prayer completely drowned by the hurried rush of large numbers from the aisles and pews to the door; an unseemly scene, without doubt, as if so many had come to the house of God not to worship, but simply to enjoy the fascination of human eloquence. Even this much it was a great thing for eloquence to accomplish. And how diversified soever the motives which drew so many together, and the emotions awakened and impressions produced by what was heard—though, in the terms of the text of one of his most overpoweringly stirring and faithful appeals, he was to not a few 'as one that had a pleasant voice and could play well on an instrument,' yet there is abundant proof that, in the highest sense, 'his labour was not in vain in the Lord;' that the truths which, with so much fearless fidelity and impassioned earnestness, he delivered, went in many instances farther than the ear, or even the intellect—that they reached the heart, and, by the power of the Spirit, turned it to God."

"On Thursday the 12th February 1818," I now quote from a manuscript of the Rev. Mr. Fraser, minister of Kilchrennan, "Dr. Chalmers preached in the Tron Church before the Directors of the Magdalene Asylum. The sermon delivered on this occasion was that 'On the Dissipation of Large Cities.' Long before the service commenced every seat and passage was crowded to excess, with the exception of the front pew of the gallery, which was reserved for the Magistrates. A vast number of students deserted their classes at the University and were present. This was very particularly the case in regard to the Moral Philosophy Class, which I attended that session, as appeared on the following day when the list of absentees was given in by the person who had called the catalogue, and at the same time a petition from several of themselves was handed in to the Professor, praying for a remission of the fine for non-attendance, on the ground that they had been hearing Dr. Chalmers. The Doctor's manner during the whole delivery of that magnificent discourse was strikingly animated, while the enthusiasm and energy which he threw into some of its bursts rendered them quite overpowering. One expression which he used, together with his action, his look, and the very tones of his voice when it came forth, made a most vivid and indelible impression upon my memory:—'We, at the same time,' he said, 'have our eye perfectly open to that great external improvement which has taken place, of late years, in the manners of society. There is not the same grossness of conversation. There is not the same impatience for the withdrawment of him who, asked to grace the outset of an assembled party, is compelled, at a certain step in the process of conviviality, by the obligations of professional decency, to retire from it. There is not so frequent an exaction of this as one of the established proprieties of social or of fashionable life. And if such an exaction was ever laid by the omnipotence of custom on a minister of Christianity, it is such an exaction as ought never, never to be complied with. It is not for him to lend the sanction of his presence to a meeting with which he could not sit to its final termination. It is not for him to stand associated, for a single hour, with an assemblage of men who begin with hypocrisy, and end with downright blackguardism. It is not for him to watch the progress of the coming ribaldry, and to hit the well-selected moment when talk and turbulence and boisterous merriment are on the eve of bursting forth upon the company, and carrying them forward to the full acme and uproar of their enjoyment. It is quite in vain to say, that he has only sanctioned one part of such an entertainment. He has as good as given his connivance to the whole of it, and left behind him a discharge in full of all its abominations; and, therefore, be they who they may, whether they rank among the proudest aristocracy of our land, or are charioted in splendour along, as the wealthiest of our citizens, *or flounce in the robes of magistracy*, it is his part to keep as purely and indignantly aloof from such society as this, as he would from the vilest and most debasing associations of profligacy.'

" The words which I have underlined do not appear in the sermon as printed. While uttering them, which he did with peculiar emphasis, accompanying them with a flash from his eye and a stamp of his foot, he threw his right arm with clenched hand right across the book-board, and brandished it full in the face of the Town Council, sitting in array and in state before him. Many eyes were in a moment directed towards the magistrates. The words evidently fell upon them like a thunderbolt, and seemed to startle like an electric shock the whole audience."

Another interesting memorial of this sermon is supplied by Dr. Wardlaw, who was present at its delivery. "The eloquence of that discourse was absolutely overpowering. The subject was one eminently fitted to awaken and summon to their utmost energy all his extraordinary powers; especially when, after having cleared his ground by a luminously scriptural exhibition of that supreme authority by which the evils he was about to pourtray were interdicted, in contradistinction to the prevailing maxims and practices of a worldly morality, he came forward to the announcement and illustration of his main subject—'*the origin, the progress, and the effects of a life of dissipation.*' His moral portraitures were so graphically and vividly delineated—his warnings and entreaties, especially to youth, so impassioned and earnest—his admonitions so faithful, and his denunciations so fearless and so fearful—and his exhortations to preventive and remedial appliances so pointed and so urgent to all amongst his auditors who had either the charge of youth, or the supervision of dependents! It was thrilling, overwhelming. His whole soul seemed in every utterance. Although saying to myself all the while, 'Oh! that this were in the hands of every father, and master, and guardian, and young man in the land!' I yet could not spare an eye from the preacher to mark how his appeal was telling upon others. The breathless, the appalling silence told me of that. Any person who reads that discourse, and who had the privilege of listening to Dr. Chalmers during the prime and freshness of his public eloquence, will readily imagine the effect of some passages in it, when delivered with even more than the preacher's characteristic vehemence.

"The wish that haunted my mind during the discourse went home with me; and in bed that night the thought came across me, that I might write to him, and respectfully but earnestly suggest the desirableness of having such an appeal put into circulation. I did so, and while I expressed strongly my delight and my wishes, I ventured at the same time, with all due diffidence, to hint the desirableness, were the discourse to appear thus by itself, of his introducing at the close, in his own style, a statement of that gospel—that scheme and message of Divine mercy—by which 'the wrath of God which cometh on the children of disobedience,' of which his text had led him to speak, was to be escaped, and His favour and forgiveness to be obtained; a statement which would perfect the fitness of the appeal for the ends to be answered by its circulation. To this note the letter which I now transmit to you is the answer."

"KENSINGTON PLACE, *February* 16*th*, 1818.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Believe that it is not without pain that I bring forward a negative to your request for the immediate publication of my sermon. I have had too much experience of the ephemeral duration of single sermons to think of that as the most effective mode of publication for usefulness. And, besides, I have of late made so many exhibitions of myself in this way before the public, that I am beginning to be heartily ashamed of it.

"I am at the same time much gratified with your favourable opinion, and will probably feel encouraged by it to incorporate the substance of what was delivered on Thursday in some future volume, when I can have no objection whatever that the usefulness, if any, might be multiplied to any degree by the circulation of such extracts as might be permitted by the publisher.

"I perfectly agree with you in thinking, that separately from the great peculiarities of our faith, all the reformations which were urged are of no value for eternity, and, indeed, can scarcely even be accomplished in time. But I am not so sure whether there is not too much of a sensitive alarm about one's orthodoxy, when it is expected that something like a satisfying declaration of it shall be brought forward in every single discourse. Might not a preacher and his hearers so understand each other as that the leading points of doctrine might be tacitly presupposed between them? At the same time I do feel it a very great and prevailing defect in my own compositions that in many of its separate portions it would be difficult to recognise the presence of Him who ought to be all in all. I am reading Owen just now on the Person of Christ, and am sure that I have greatly erred in not making enough of Him. May the Spirit more and more take of the things of Christ, and show them unto us.

"Believe me, with many thanks for your kind and friendly communication, yours, most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"In the afternoon of Sabbath the 22d March 1818," we now resume Mr. Fraser's memoranda, "Dr. Chalmers preached in the College Chapel. It being publicly known a few days previously that he was to do so, the College courts became crowded with students and others not connected with the University about an hour before the commencement of the service. So soon as the doors were opened, the rush towards them was tremendous. I was in the stream that was flowing in by the main entrance, and made good progress until I got within the door, when, in consequence of the great pressure behind, I was suddenly thrown out of the current as I had almost reached the foot of the hanging spiral staircase leading to the chapel, and so compact was the mass that was pouring on, that all my efforts to wedge myself into it were vain. Under these circumstances, I made up my mind to do what might have led to very serious consequences. I ascended sideways on the outside of the rails, holding on with a death-grasp of them at every step, and upon reaching the top, had no little difficulty, even with the assistance I received, in getting over them, so dense was the crowd. The sermon preached by Dr. Chalmers was the one entitled 'The judgment of men compared with the judgment of God.' I had a complete view of the professors' bench directly opposite to the pulpit. It was quite full, and had a very imposing appearance. Every eye in it was intently fixed upon the preacher. But there was one individual who formed a very prominent object in the group—Mr. Young, Professor of Greek. The magic of the Doctor's eloquence told most powerfully on him. He was evidently fascinated and enraptured. The expression of his fine countenance more than once indicated intense emotion. During the delivery of the peroration he was overpowered and in tears.*

"On Sabbath evening in the Tron Church Dr. Chalmers preached from Proverbs i. 29. The power of the oratory and the force of the delivery were at times extraordinary. At length, when near the close of the sermon, all on a sudden his eloquence gathered triple force, and came down in one mighty whirlwind, sweeping all before it. Never can I forget my feelings at the time, neither can I describe them. 'And what,' he said, warning us against all hope in a deathbed repentance, 'what, we would ask, is the scene in which you are now purposing to contest it with all this mighty force of opposition you are now so busy in raising up against you? What is the field of combat to which you are now looking forward as the place where you are to accomplish a victory over all those formidable enemies whom you are at present arming with such a weight of hostility as, we say, within a single hair-breadth of certainty, you will find to be irresistible? Oh the folly of such a misleading infatuation! The proposed scene in which this battle for eternity is to be fought, and this victory for the crown of glory is to be won, is a deathbed. It is when the last messenger stands by the couch of the dying man, and shakes at him the terrors of his grisly countenance, that the poor child of infatuation thinks he is to struggle and prevail against all his enemies—against the unrelenting tyranny of habit—against the obstinacy of his own heart, which he is now doing so much to harden—against the Spirit of God, who perhaps long ere now has pronounced the doom upon him, "He will take his own way, and walk in his own counsel; I shall cease from striving, and let him alone,"—against Satan, to whom every day of his life he has given some fresh advantage over him, and who will not be willing to lose the victim on whom he has practised so many wiles, and plied with success so many delusions. And such are the enemies whom you who wretchedly calculate on the repentance of the eleventh hour are every day mustering up in greater force and formidableness against you; and how can we think of letting you go with any other repentance than the repentance of the precious moment that is now passing over you, when we look forward to the horrors of that impressive scene on which you propose to win the prize of immortality, and to contest it single-handed and alone, with all the weight of opposition which you have accumulated against yourselves—a deathbed—a languid, breathless, tossing, and agitated deathbed; that scene of feebleness, when the poor man cannot help himself to a single mouthful—when he must have attendants to sit around him, and watch his every wish, and interpret his every signal, and turn him to every posture where he may find a moment's ease, and wipe away the cold sweat that is running over him, and ply him with cordials for thirst, and sickness, and insufferable languor. And this is the time, when occupied with such feelings and beset with such agonies as these, you propose to crowd within the compass of a few wretched days the work of winding up the concerns of a neglected eternity!'

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* Professor Young's admiration of eloquence and susceptibility of emotion when under its influence were extreme. He frequently attended in the Tron Church, and scarcely ever heard Dr. Chalmers without weeping like a child. Upon one occasion, he was so electrified that he leaped up from his seat upon the bench near the pulpit, and stood, breathless and motionless, gazing at the preacher till the burst was over, the tears all the while rolling down his cheeks. Upon another occasion, forgetful of time and place—fancying himself perhaps in the theatre—he rose and made a loud clapping of his hands in an ecstasy of admiration and delight.

"It was a transcendently grand—a glorious burst. The energy of the Doctor's action corresponded. Intense emotion beamed from his countenance. I cannot describe the appearance of his face better than by saying, as Foster said of Hall's, it was 'lighted up almost into a glare.' The congregation, in so far as the spell under which I was allowed me to observe them, were intensely excited, leaning forward in the pews like a forest bending under the power of the hurricane—looking steadfastly at the preacher, and listening in breathless wonderment. One young man, apparently by his dress a sailor, who sat in a pew before me, started to his feet, and stood till it was over. So soon as it was concluded, there was (as invariably was the case at the close of the Doctor's bursts) a deep sigh, or rather gasp for breath, accompanied by a movement through the whole audience.

"On another Sabbath evening a scene occurred which I shall never forget. About an hour before the service commenced all the seats were occupied. A broad passage runs through the area of the church from the main inner door to the pulpit. This passage it was intended should be kept vacant upon the present occasion for the better ventilation of the house. So soon, therefore, as the pews which entered from it (in one of which I sat) were filled, the door, consisting of two leaves, was bolted from within. Very soon all the other passages above and below were crowded to overflowing. A dense mass was by this time congregated in the lobby, many of whom observed through the windows of a partition wall which ran between the lobby and the interior of the church that the middle passage was empty. Those in the background, who could not themselves observe this, were made immediately aware of it. They all became very clamorous for admission, and many a good thump did the door receive. Those in charge of it, however, having got, as was said, positive orders to keep the passage clear, were inexorable. Matters went on in this manner until the bell commenced, which seemed to be the signal for increased clamour and importunity on the part of the crowd without. At length the door began to creak. The bell ceased. The beadle entered the pulpit with the Bible. All was still for a few moments. Every eye within sight of the vestry-door was anxiously fixed upon it to see who would appear, lest it might *not* be the Doctor, as he had on more occasions than one sadly disappointed the congregation. No sooner, however, was he observed entering the church, than an expression of intense delight rustled very perceptibly through the house. There was actually (I do not exaggerate) a movement of the whole congregation. At this moment a crash at the passage-door was heard; crash after crash followed in rapid succession, intermingled with screams from the outer porch, chiefly from terrified females. Two of the door-keepers who were standing in the passage rushed to the door, which was evidently yielding, to prevent, if possible, its being forced in. They quickly retreated, seeing, as they did at once, that neither door nor door-keepers could withstand the pressure. The door immediately gave way with a thundering noise, one of the leaves torn from its hinges and trampled under foot. The rush was tremendous. In one instant the whole vacant space in front of the pulpit was crammed,* and the torrent flowed on, flowing into and filling to its very end at the vestry-door the passage through which the Doctor had just entered. The occurrence grieved, and for a little while discomposed him, and upon rising to begin the service, he administered a sharp and impassioned rebuke to the parties involved in it."

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* A countryman sitting at the end of the pew occupied by Mr. Fraser while the church was filling fell fast asleep. Wakened by the crash of the doors and the

Dr. Wardlaw, who was present on this occasion also, informs us, "I stepped into the vestry at the dismission of the congregation, and walked home with him, our dwellings lying in the same direction. On the way home we talked, *inter alia*, of this occurrence. He expressed, in his pithy manner, his great annoyance at such crowds. 'I preached the same sermon,' said he, 'in the morning; and for the very purpose of preventing the oppressive annoyance of such a densely crowded place, I intimated that I should preach it again in the evening;' and with the most ingenuous guilelessness, he added, 'Have *you* ever tried that plan?' I did not smile—I laughed outright. 'No, no,' I replied, 'my good friend, there are but very few of us that are under the necessity of having recourse to the use of means for getting thin audiences.' He enjoyed the joke, and he felt, though he modestly disowned the compliment."

At the commencement of a ministry which involved him in such perpetual tumult, and lifted him to such unbounded popularity, Dr. Chalmers made the following entries in his private Journal.

"*Sunday, March 3d.*—A general want of devotional feeling this day. Not an adequate sense of God in church. Fear I have still much vanity. O my God, enable me from this time forward to make an entire heart-work of my sanctification.

"*4th.*—Cannot say much of my walk with God. Do not burn with love to man.

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rush through the passage, he started up, looked stupidly for a moment or two at the crowd, and then exclaimed, so loud as to be heard by all around him, "Gude guide us! they say the man canna speak when the trance [the passage] is fu'; he'll no speak muckle the nicht!"

"*5th.*—Cannot yet record a close walk with God. Got impatient with one man who called on me, and with —— in the evening. Oh, for a humbler and nearer course of devotedness to the will of my Saviour.

"*6th.*—Have not yet attained such a walk with God that in looking to the day that is gone I can see any thing like the general complexion of godliness.

"*7th.*—Cannot yet speak to my walk with God. Will a quiet confidence in Christ not bring this about?

"*8th.*—Not yet. O my God, help me! Let me do what is obviously right, and God will bless me with the frame and the manifestation I long after.

"*9th.*—Not yet. Trust that I am finding my way to Christ as the Lord my strength. Oh guard me against the charms of human praise.

"*Sunday,* 10*th.*—Preached in the Gorbals in the afternoon, and exceeded. Oh for self-command in the pulpit. I was not satisfied with my sermon; and I fear, or rather I know and am sure, that personal distinction is one of my idols. Oh that I could bring it out, O Lord, and slay it before Thee.

"14*th.*—Not yet. O my God! keep me humble and regular, and mindful of Thee, and diligent in all that is obviously right.

"18*th.*—Not yet; but I trust better.

"*Sunday,* 24*th.*—Preached to the magistrates. Vanity, violent exertion prompted by vanity—a preaching of self—a want of singleness of aim after the glory of God. O my Heavenly Father! sweep away these corruptions, and enable me to struggle with them."

The Journal from which these impressive extracts are taken was discontinued for some time a few weeks after these entries were made in it. In the absence of such information as it might have supplied as to Dr. Chalmers's private feelings during the remaining period of his Tron Church ministry, we present the narrative of a single but instructive incident, which occurred about two years after his settlement in Glasgow:—

"At the time I allude to," says our informant, J. Wright, Esq.,—"Dr. Chalmers had been preaching in the Barony Church for the venerable Dr. Burns, on the Monday after the Communion, which was in the suburban districts about two months after the time of its celebration in the town churches. As was customary on such occasions, Dr. Burns invited the ministers who had assisted him, and some of his elders and friends, to dinner on the Monday. I was on that day one of the party, and I was exceedingly disappointed to see that Dr. Chalmers, who, in ordinary times, poured a fascinating influence over every company where he was, seemed extremely dull, nay, I may say dejected. When he arose, about nine o'clock, to go away, as our tract homeward lay for some distance in the same direction, I left the company along with him. When we had got together, I said to the Doctor, 'Are you well enough to-day, Doctor? for I have noticed you have not to-day been in your usual trim.' 'Oh, yes!' he said, 'I am quite in good health, but I am not comfortable. I am grieved in my mind.' Seeing that he so frankly communicated to me the general cause of his unusual appearance, I used the freedom to say, 'Well, Doctor, is this a matter that I may be made acquainted with, as if it is not I have no wish to pry into any thing of a private nature.' 'Oh, yes!' he replied, 'you may perfectly know it, for it is a matter that presses very grievously upon me. In short, the truth is,' said he, in his own emphatic manner, 'I have mistaken the way of my duty to God in at all coming to your city. I am doing no good. God has not blessed and is not blessing my ministry here.' On hearing this I replied, 'Well, Doctor, it is a very remarkable circumstance that, in the providence of God, you should have been sent with your complaint to me on this point, because I have it in my power at any rate to mention one instance in which your ministry has been made instrumental in bringing a soul from darkness to the marvellous light of the Gospel of salvation.' 'Can you?' said he, 'then you will give me the best news I have heard since I came among you.' I then narrated to him the following particulars:—

"At the time this took place I was an elder under the late venerated Dr. Balfour, minister of the Outer High Church, whose practice it was, when he read over the names of those who were applying for admission to the ordinance of the Lord's supper, to give us so much of their history and experience as he had been in conversation with them able to discover, and to request that some of the elders might, as far as possible, scrutinize further, and communicate to him the result. I well remember, at the Sacrament, which in the town churches is always solemnized in the month of April, he mentioned the name of a young man who had applied to be a communicant. After he had read over his name—'By the bye,' said the good servant of the Lord, 'I must tell you something about this young man, for his history is somewhat interesting and singular. He sat,' said Dr. Balfour, 'for nearly twenty years under my ministry, but did not appear to derive any good from it; but when my worthy friend Dr. Chalmers' (for that was the almost uniform designation he gave him when he had occasion to speak of him) 'came to Glasgow, he was attracted to him by his splendid talents, and sat under his ministry for about two years, and then it pleased the Lord to come to him in the day of his power; and I have every reason to think him a truly converted young man. And now that he wishes to become a member of the Church he wishes to return to us. But,' added Dr. Balfour, with a truly sublime humility, 'it was not under my ministry that he was turned to the Lord, though he sat for the greater part of his lifetime in the Outer Church; but it was under the preaching of Dr. Chalmers.'

" You know what was Dr. Chalmers's ardent manner when any thing that related to the glory of Christ's kingdom, or to the spiritual good of his fellow-creatures, was made known to him ; but you may easily conceive with what exuberant joy he heard this simple annal of the good done through his pastoral superintendence. ' Ah !' said he, ' Mr. Wright, what blessed, what comforting news you give me. I knew it not ; but it strengthens me ; for really I was beginning to fail, from an apprehension that I had not been acting according to the will of God in coming to your city.' "

At a still later period of his Glasgow ministry, and after knowing, by a painful experience, how many bitter ingredients are often mixed in the cup of human applause, urging his agencies to increased activity in that home-walk of private benevolence, in which " they could earn, if not a proud at least a peaceful popularity—the popularity of the heart—the only popularity that is worth the aspiring after—the popularity that is won in the bosom of families and at the side of deathbeds"—he could not help pouring out his own latter experience in these words :—" There is another, a high and a far sounding popularity, which is indeed a most worthless article, felt by all who have it most to be greatly more oppressive than gratifying —a popularity of stare, and pressure, and animal heat, and a whole tribe of other annoyances which it brings around the person of its unfortunate victim—a popularity which rifles home of its sweets, and by elevating man above his fellows places him in a region of desolation, where the intimacies of human fellowship are unfelt, and where he stands a conspicuous mark for the shafts of malice, and envy, and detraction—a popularity which, with its head among storms and its feet on the treacherous quicksands, has nothing to lull the agonies of its tottering existence but the hosannahs of a drivelling generation."

CHAPTER VIII.

HIS FATHER'S DECLINING HEALTH—SUMMER MONTHS AT ANSTRUTHER—DAILY LIFE IN GLASGOW—VISIT OF PROFESSOR PICTET AND M. VERNOT; OF MR. NOEL AND MR. GREY—VISITATION OF HIS PARISH—THE REV. LEGH RICHMOND—MR. CUNNINGHAME OF LAINSHAW—MEETING OF THE JEWISH SOCIETY—MR. ERSKINE OF LINLATHEN—HIS FATHER'S LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH—HERVEY'S AND NEWTON'S WORKS—THE DOCTRINE OF IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS—PROFESSORS LESLIE AND BROWN—LORD ELGIN AND PARTY—SERMON AT FALKIRK—KIND ATTENTIONS AT GRANGEMOUTH—PLUM-JELLY OPERATION—DEATH OF DR. BALFOUR—PANEGYRIC UPON HIS CHARACTER—DEATH OF THE QUEEN—TRIBUTE TO HER WORTH.

In the beginning of December, a few days after leaving his mother, Dr. Chalmers wrote to her as follows :—" I was greatly occupied when at Anster with some very laborious preparations, and I always find that this has a bad effect upon me, not merely in taking up that time which I should give to you and to my father, but in so filling my mind with anxiety and thought as to make me, I am afraid, behave to you both in a way that looks very ungracious and undutiful. I really do reproach myself most heartily for my silence in the presence of my father. I know what my duty is in this respect, and yet I have not done it. To will is present with me, but to do that which is good I have found not. My mind approves of it as a most excellent thing to minister every attention to one who has ever been the kindest and the best and the most indulgent of parents; but my natural infirmities of temper and constitution have not hitherto allowed me freedom and power for this. And therefore it is, that while I look back to the past I have much cause for uneasiness ; it is my sincere purpose in looking forward to the future, that when I come to Anster I shall come disembarrassed of every severe and oppressive study, and at liberty to give more of my time and strength to the performance of a most incumbent obligation.

" I left you in bed with much feeling, and I left him in the back-shop, greatly impressed with his mildness and my own unworthiness. It is my earnest prayer that we may still be all spared to see much of each other in peace and comfort on this side of time, and that we may meet again in that country where trials have ceased and every root of bitterness is unknown."

The intelligence received during the winter of his father's declining health made Dr. Chalmers doubly anxious that Mrs. Chalmers and his family should spend the summer months of 1818 at Anstruther. While affording to himself occasional opportunities of personal intercourse with his parents this arrangement would secure frequent and regular intelligence regarding them. It might also be a benefit and comfort to his mother, should any sudden emergency occur, to have Mrs. Chalmers's presence and aid ; and he knew how peculiarly gratifying it would be to his father to listen to the infant prattle of his grandchildren. This cherished project was executed in the end of May, Dr. Chalmers going to Anstruther a few days earlier than the others, and enjoying, let us hope, the period of unbroken and unembarrassed society with his parents which he had so ardently desired. Leaving his family at Anstruther he returned to Glasgow early in June, commencing a series of Journal letters, from which, as they afford a vivid description of his daily life at this period, the following extracts are presented. In reading them, however, we must remember not only that the summer months saw Glasgow comparatively deserted, but that his own solitary position made his house very different from what it was when Mrs. Chalmers presided there, and when scarcely a single day passed without a varied succession of visitors.

"*Glasgow, Thursday, June* 11*th*, 1818.—I preached at eleven. The body of the Church was decently filled, and the galleries about half full. Whether this decline of attendance is due to the ignorance of my preaching, or to the extreme heat of the weather, or to the number of people out of town, or, finally, to a decreasing interest in my pulpit services, I know not, and I trust that I shall be enabled, excepting on the principle of Christian usefulness, to care not. It is right, my dear G., that the idol of human applause should be renounced, and we should prepare to make a willing sacrifice of all that this world can offer, and we should be clothed in humility, and simplify our aim, and cease from the disquietudes of human vanity, and count it enough that we have peace with God and the blessedness of that hope which the Gospel inspires.

"*Friday.*—Started at seven. Wrote part of my lecture before breakfast. Studied all forenoon. Completed my lecture, and am now writing to you. Read the 'Quarterly Review,' and did miscellaneous things till dinner-time. I am dividing my time now differently, and I think more conveniently,—staying in the house till dinner-time, and expatiating in the town from dinner-time to the evening. Sallied out, and went to the bottom of the Saltmarket, where I expatiated amongst the sick and the dying till seven. Took an ice-cream in Baxter's. Went to Dr. Ranken, who proposed a walk to the Botanic Garden, which is now in great beauty. Left the garden before nine. Came back to my house and reposed on the sofa till bed-time.

" *Saturday.*—Studied at a careful sermon. Left the house at two. Visited one sick person. On my return to dinner found that Professor Pictet of Geneva had been calling upon me with his grandson. He left a flattering note, and a letter of introduction from Mr. Macaulay of London. After dinner read my lecture and sermon, and about six o'clock M. Pictet with his grandson M. Vernot called. He is a very learned man of the same kind of eminence with Biot. They left me about ten, having taken up their lodgings at the Black Bull, to which place indeed I convoyed them.

" *Sunday.*—Professor Pictet and M. Vernot breakfasted with me, and went to church with me. I lectured, and gave for the evening sermon the one I preached at Kirkaldy. Professor Pictet and grandson were among my hearers. There was a very great crowd. I took leave of Pictet after sermon. He goes to Edinburgh by the track and steam-boat. He is a most interesting person, the editor of a periodical work at Geneva. He received from me a number of my separate sermons, and requested that I would send him all my publications in future.

" *Monday.*—Had a breakfast party, consisting of my Sabbath-school agents—performed several visits—returned to dinner at four—began my lecture for next Sunday.

" *Tuesday.*—Studied all forenoon. After dinner, in company with Mr. C., commenced the visitation of that part of my present parish which is to be attached to St. John's. It promises favourably."

" *Glasgow, Wednesday, June 17th*, 1818.—Had my forenoon study. About three o'clock in came Captain Sands from Kincardine, to go off in the track-boat at five. Just as I was ordering wine and cold roast beef for him, with the intention to dine along with him, in came Mr. Francis Noel and Mr. Grey, eldest son of Sir George Grey. I told them my situation, that

I would dine with them in the Black Bull, and give them all their other accommodation in my own house. They were, however, on the wing for Loch Lomond and the West Highlands, but say they will be back in three or four weeks. I went down to the Black Bull with them, and saw them on board of the steam-boat at four. Mr. Grey is a very fine like young man. On my return I expected to find Captain Sands where I last left him, but I found him just gone.

" *Thursday.*—Wrote letters, and studied till one. I visited sick; and dined in F. A.'s. I find general company a most unprofitable thing. Went between eight and nine to the Botanic Garden. Walked with Mr. Deakin about half an hour. I love him; and trust the charm I feel in Christian society is a good indication. I want to grow in the faith in all its simplicity and self-abasement. I want self to be crucified, and the Saviour to be all in all with me. Do, my dear G., give earnest heed to the things which are spoken. Be frequent with your Bible and your prayers, and suffer not time, with any of its vanities, however interesting, to lead you to lose your hold of the one thing needful. Went to bed at eleven.

" *Friday.*—Studied till two. Have marvellously few calls, but am in great comfort and quietness. Oh that Christ were more formed in me! Dined at three. Took a step to my worthy friend, and along with Mr. C. had another visitation. Addressed two roomfuls of people at a door which opened to each of them. I have a great satisfaction in this part of my duty.

" *Saturday.*—Wrote at my lecture and read till about three. Dined with Mr. K. I find that dinners away from vital Christians are indeed very blank and unprofitable concerns.

" *Sunday.*—Mr. and Mrs. Parker have returned from Harrow gate, and were my hearers. After the baptisms of the session house I walked home and dined, and spent a quiet, pleasurable, and completely retired Sabbath evening, and heard Janet read, and had a good deal of very interesting conversation with her. She is not at rest in spiritual matters. Oh that we could be ever in earnest, and not faithless, but believing!

"*Monday.*—Had a breakfast party as usual. I had a hurried call in the evening of Mr. J. W., with Frederick Adamson and his ladies, who remained till eleven o'clock. I had a most congenial conversation with them, enlivened, at the same time, with the most ecstatic peals of laughter. * * * I conducted family worship before the gentlemen left me, and went to bed at eleven.

"*Tuesday.*—Studied till two. Quarter-decked along the south front of Mr. Harley's grounds. Came back to my beef-steak, and after it I had another round of visitation at the head of the Green; and after going amongst the houses drank tea with a Mr. M'Levey, and assembled the people in a weaver's, who came to the amount of a hundred and twenty-five hearers. This is truly gratifying work, and I feel that if unmolested I shall have great pleasure in it. The cordialities of the people are quite unbounded; and I am particularly pleased that Mr. C. has consented to take a superintendence here, which will keep me at ease in reference to at least six hundred people of my new parish. This is what I would call good progress.

"*Wednesday.*—Went out to Blochairn before breakfast. I am here by invitation, and mean to return to-morrow. I have taken my forenoon's study; and at this point do I close my narrative for the present. I find that it is a good arrangement to stay within doors till nearly dinner-time, and just to make one long visit to town every day, which I am doing at present after dinner. Write me particularly in your next about the children and the parentage. May God work in you effectually. May He raise you from spiritual death. May He give you the grace of faith. Oh! cease not, cease not, my dear G., to seek His face and His favour. Do give up all for eternity, and venture all on that foundation which God hath laid in Zion. It is my earnest prayer that we and our little ones may be saved by the sanctification of the Spirit and the belief of the truth. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Friday.*—After the usual routine of breakfasting and studying, and dining, I had a visitation along with Mr. C. Went through Norris's Land. Drank a hurried tea in the parish with Mr. Ure, and went back to Norris's Land at eight, where I held forth to a motley assemblage of a hundred people at least. I had great freedom and satisfaction in this work, and after it was over received many polite attentions from the genteeler of the auditory, in the shape of a greatcoat, a glass of spirits and water, &c. &c.

"*Saturday.*—Nearly finished the preparation of my lecture this forenoon, and went out to make a series of visits, on my way to ——, where I dined. After dinner Mr. Legh Richmond, author of the 'Dairyman's Daughter,' and Mr. Jackson, clergyman in Leeds, came as we expected. They are on a mission here for the Jewish Society. We drank tea and made some arrangements for their object. I was delighted with Mr. Jackson, and told him that I could supper him, bed him, and breakfast him, though I could not in my present circumstances dinner him. He came with me. I had most congenial talk with him, and am indeed greatly humbled by the very superior attainments of other Christians. O God, may I be a follower of those who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

"*Sunday.*—Preached in the afternoon, and having baptized fourteen children, took leave of Mr. Jackson.

"*Monday.*—Mr. A.'s chaise brought Mr. Richmond to my door at half-past five this morning, and took away Mr. Jackson to the steam-boat. I was unconscious of this movement at the time, though I knew beforehand that it was to happen, having a great deal too much of good sense to surrender a single fraction of my natural rest for the sake of a ceremonial that does no good to one party, and is at least very unpleasant if not injurious to another. Started at seven. Had a marriage to perform this morning at eight in Anderston, and came back at half-past eight o'clock. Had a Monday breakfast, consisting of Mr. Cunninghame of Lainshaw, Mr. Gilfillan, Mr. Blyth, Mr. Jamieson of Scoone, and five others, preachers, students, or teachers. Greatly delighted with Mr. Cunninghame, who staid behind. You know him to be the author of a book on the prophecies. We walked to the Botanic Gardens together. I had much of interesting conversation with him.

" *Tuesday.*—Finished a preparation for the Jewish Society meeting, which is to take place on Friday. Dined with Mr. Montgomery. Met Mr. John Brown, elder, and took him and Mr. Montgomery to a visitation in the proportion of the latter. Went through 230 people,* and drank tea at Mr. Brown's, then at eight delivered an address in one of the houses to an assemblage consisting of eighty-five people. Have great comfort in this work.

" Seek God. Read his word attentively. Pray, and do not rest till you have found rest in Christ Jesus the Saviour. Sin is indeed a thousand times more hateful than we feel it to be, and the Saviour is just as much more precious than we prize

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* These visits, though short, were often strikingly impressive. Passing through one house in which he saw an old man reclining, he stepped aside, bent over him, lifted up his right hand, and said, simply, but with emphatic solemnity, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Entering another house in which was an old bed-rid woman, of whom he had been told beforehand, that of a hard and severe character herself she cherished the darkest and most severe conceptions of the Deity, he went up hastily to her bedside, and fixing her attention by the very vehemence of his utterance, he said, "Now I have just come to tell you that God Almighty has no ill-will at you—I want you to understand that He has a perfect good-will to you;" leaving her more startled, perhaps more convinced, than she would have been by any lengthened argument.

Him to be. Oh! seek to believe in Him, that to you He may be precious. You are without light or strength or sufficiency of any kind in yourself. Go to the fulness of the Redeemer, and desire by faith all things necessary to a life of godliness. Watch over our dear little ones. Tell them of me, and be assured of my warmest love to them and to you. Nothing but the complete filling up of my time by useful employment could render our separation tolerable. I think I shall get my parish stored with agency enough for its cultivation, and I hope I may be allowed to prosecute my own measures amongst them.

"Compliments to all, and write about them particularly."

"*Wednesday.*—I went out to Mr. Falconer's country place, where I dined and staid all evening. I partook of his strawberries and cream, and in the evening had a most delicious walk through a highly ornamented scenery, and under the canopy of a most mild and beauteous sky. Mr. F. is among the most eminently spiritual men I have met with. He spends two hours in his proportion every day among his people. Went to bed at eleven.

"*Thursday.*—Walked by appointment to Mr. Brown's, and then sallied out to a diet of visitation. I drank tea in Mr. Brown's, and delivered my address to an assemblage of about eighty after it. I got homewards by ten, and went to bed thankful that God had so sustained me, though the day was altogether lost to study.

"*Friday.*—Slept most refreshingly. Had to attend the Jewish Society about twelve, so that this Society in fact has lost me two complete days, one in preparing for it, and another exhibiting for it. You will see how utterly this distraction is at variance with my best and dearest and, I think, most valuable objects. My determination against any personal share in their proceedings has been strengthened by this new instance of the mischief of such an interruption.

" *Saturday.*—Tried to finish a lecture, but in fact have lost this week to study, and shall be happy never from this time forward to attend societies.

" *Sunday.*—Preached in the forenoon.

" *Monday.*—Breakfasted with Mr. Wilson. He took me in his gig to Paisley, where I preached for the Moravians, and got a collection of £96, 10s. 6d.

" *Tuesday.*—I attended this day a committee, where my parochial plan of management was broached—laughed at by one set, vehemently supported by another, and at length regularly deposited as the subject of a motion. It is growing in popularity amongst the official people, though some of the old stagers have the very greatest contempt for it.

" *Wednesday.*—Finished a lecture. Kirkman Finlay, M.P., called in his carriage, and took me out, along with Mr. Haddow, chief magistrate, to an official dinner, given to the magistrates at Jordanhill. Mr. Finlay is to give all his influence and approbation to my arrangements, and I have no doubt of the matter succeeding. The dinner was one of splendour, and the party was a very pleasant one. Mr. Finlay drove me in about ten o'clock.

" *Thursday.*—Wrote at a careful sermon. Mr. Birt one of the Baptist ministers now in town called, and I invited him to take a bed with me during his stay, which will be about a week. We shall have no dinners nor parties, and indeed he is taken out abundantly to both. He is a great intimate of Mr. Hall's, and a very pleasant well-informed person. I took an early dinner, and had a round of visitation with Mr. Brown. I drank tea at his house, and addressed a party of above one hundred after tea in the evening.

" *Friday.*—Mr. Birt breakfasts with me every morning. I took to the composition in the forenoon. Mr. Kinghorn and Dr. Steadman, other Baptist ministers, called upon me at one.

I took them to the Observatory, and felt the pressure of a little confusion by the Miss B.'s, Mr. F., and Miss S. being also thrown upon me. However, I made off from them all at three; had an early dinner, and went to the Saltmarket, where I spent four or five hours among my old people. I did the thing in a quiet and leisurely style, and drank tea in a family there during the evening. I came home in great comfort, and met Mr. Birt on my return.

"*Saturday.*—Was annoyed this forenoon with a good deal of breaking up of my retirement. I finished off my preparation as I could; took my cold bath (which I do three times a-week) in Mr. Smith's; had an early dinner; went down to Mr. Hunter's proportion, and made a number of visits to sick and dying people; drank tea with a parish family there; came up about eight, had several calls; had an egg and cold beef with Mr. Birt, and went to bed about eleven o'clock.

"*Sunday.*—I preached all day. Spent my interval with Mr. Allan Buchannan, who, I trust, will be an elder to me. He is a very fine fellow.

"*Monday, July 6th.*—Had a party of twelve at breakfast: Mr. Walker, Mr. Charles Hutcheson, Messrs. Robert and Francis Brown, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Birt, and a number of Sabbath-school teachers. Compliments to all. Write about my father. Strive to enter in at the strait gate—it is the gate of a blessed eternity. O my dear G., do make it a matter of prayer and of earnestness; feel as if there was nothing else worth the seeking for; never rest satisfied with a conscience telling you that your present state is not a state which it would do to die in; pray that you may be converted and your sins be blotted out. Offer my fondest love to each of the dear children; and do let it be our joint care and our joint supplication that they be devoted to the Lord. Oh that we should so long after their temporal and so neglect their spiritual and everlasting interests!"

"GLASGOW, *July 8th*, 1818.

"MY VERY DEAREST GRACE,—I had just filled one page of my Journal this morning when I got your letter; and I suspend it for the purpose of requesting your more frequent and particular accounts of my father. Your notice of him has indeed thrown me into very great tenderness; and I want to know if you think I should come, and that soon, to see him—if I were only to be away one Sunday. If he does enjoy your society much, I should rather like you to remain in Anster; and I cannot express the longing anxiety I feel towards him now that his earthly career appears to be drawing towards its termination. * * * Give a kiss to each of my dear girls. Oh train them in the fear of the Lord. Let the vanity of earthly things sink deep into your own heart. Do say the kindest things to my dear father; I cannot express the feelings I have about him. O my dearest, let us devote ourselves more than we have ever yet done to the one thing needful. Pray for light and enlargement and decided seriousness. Flee to Christ, and let it be your heart's desire to trust Him and to walk in Him.—Yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Glasgow, July 13th*, 1818.—I finished my last in Mr Smith's shop, and went from it to Mrs. G., who exhibited such a picture of dying agony as I hope I shall not soon forget, and it has hung upon me with a deep but I hope salutary weight all day. I have felt the littleness of the world and the littleness of human praise. Oh that God would extirpate from my heart every remainder of earthliness! that He would indeed raise my desires to Himself, and make me seek my own salvation and that of others more earnestly and simply and devotedly than ever! Her daughters are in an ecstasy of grief; and altogether I felt that it was well to go to the house of mourning. I then went to Dr. Ranken, where I dined in company with

Drs. Taylor, Lockhart, and M'Gill. There is a certain want of congeniality; but on the whole I got on pretty well. I fear that their taste for general and extended management will not always be at one with my parochial plans of education.

" *Tuesday.*—I prepared at my lecture in the forenoon.

" *Wednesday.*—Finished my lecture. I went to visit the sick of Norris's Land, and found it a very pleasant excursion.

" *Thursday.*—I generally perform the round of Harley's grounds every morning before breakfast. Had a forenoon of careful composition. May God save me from all vanity and dependence upon myself. Sauntered out in the cool of the evening, and fell in with Mr. Harley, who introduced me to two Bristol gentlemen, one of whom is intimate with Hannah More, and had a message to me from her.

" *Friday.*—Studied as usual in the forenoon. Mr. Erskine of Linlathen called between one and two, and spent the day with me. * * * I have had a great treat in Mr. Erskine—a holy, spiritual, enlightened, and affectionate Christian, who is also a man of great property and of great literature."

On Friday, the 17th July, Mr. Chalmers, senior, had an attack of paralysis, which threatened a speedy removal by death. Intelligence was despatched immediately to Dr. Chalmers, who left Glasgow on Monday the 20th, and arrived at Anstruther at three o'clock on Tuesday. On Thursday he wrote to Mrs. Morton—" My father has been quite inarticulate since Friday, and neither my brother nor Dr. Goodsir gives us any hope of recovery from this last attack. He was a good deal moved when I was first announced to him. I pray with him occasionally, but shortly, lest he should be fatigued. He sleeps a great deal, and seems to have little or no pain. There is still a considerable portion of understanding, and when placed on his chair, where he sits for about half an hour with a blanket round him, he can be made to know who is taking him by the hand and speaking to him. He was made very placid last night in this way by the successive announcements of myself and aunt and the two children, and all the rest of us. Since I sat down to this letter he expressed a wish, which was interpreted to be for me. We find a whole chapter too much for him, and I have been selecting a few separate verses from the Bible, a few of which I read at a time. I asked if he felt the comfort of them, when he shook his head and said, 'Ay.' 'Ay' and 'No' are almost the only articulations he can make out, though he occasionally hits upon some others, such as Jeanie, Isabel, Anne, and we thought he said just now, 'I'll maybe be better the morn.' There is much stillness and self-command in our household. I am most exquisitely gratified with the use of my very excellent wife upon this occasion, who has earned new titles to my affection by this exhibition of herself; and I indeed count her to be one of the greatest blessings ever conferred on me by Providence.

"I took up Sandy in Kirkaldy on my way. I did not come by Edinburgh. Sandy returned in the chaise that night. I said to my father this night that I trusted his prayers for us would not be forgotten by any of us. He was much employed in intercessions for his family before he was struck with palsy on Friday. In particular, one evening, that we should live in peace.—With kindest compliments to Mr. Morton and the little ones, believe me, ever yours with true affection,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ANSTRUTHER, *Sabbath, July 26th*, 1818.

"MY DEAREST JANE,—The life of our revered father was just lengthened out to half-past two this morning. He was permitted just to touch, as it were, one Sabbath more on earth ere he was transported to that everlasting Sabbath among the worshippers of which he is now sitting in blessedness and in glory. The family are bearing up wonderfully—none of us in church of course—but I take an occasional walk at the head of the garden. It is truly affecting when the thought of former Sabbaths in Anster presents itself to my mind, and I think of it as the day he loved, and how the ringing of the bells was ever to him the note of joyful invitation to the house of God; the sight of the people going to and from church—the interval—the everything connected with the Sabbath, bring the whole of my father's habits in lively recollection before me, and call forth a fresh excitement of tenderness.

"My dear father is lovely in death. There is all the mildness of heaven upon his aged countenance. My mother bears up to the great satisfaction of us all. She sits much in the room where the venerable remains are lying. My aunt, though much moved at the time of the death, is conducting herself with an equanimity which goes far to sustain the spirits of the family. I have felt remarkably calm till I sat down to these letters. I have written to James, and have yet to write to Patrick, Charles, and Alexander. Oh that this affecting event did something more than solemnize for the time!—that it formed a turning-point in the history of every one of us, so as that all old things should be done away, and so as that all things should become new.

"There was not much of the suffering of death, save the weariness and the languor of dying. He ceased, we thought, to take an interest in what we said for about thirty hours before his death. We all sat up two nights in hourly expectation of the event, but it was postponed, and the transition made gentler in consequence. He calmly breathed his last, and his departing spirit has left a most saintly expression behind it.

"He recommended to his family in a written note which my mother found to read Hervey and Newton's works, and more particularly the 'Theron and Aspasio' of the former. I had begun it two days ago, and trust that I shall never lose my hold of the fulness and peace which lie in the doctrine of Christ's imputed righteousness.

"I beg that my dear Jane may receive this stroke with submission to the Divine will. My father's 'graces' at length became prayer of late, and a frequent petition of his was that we might be reconciled to the whole of God's will: 'Be still, and know that I am God.'

"My kindest compliments to Mr. Morton. All join in affection to him and to you.—Believe me, my very dearest Jane, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ANSTRUTHER, *Sabbath*, *July 26th*, 1818.

"MY DEAR PATRICK,—Our revered father died this morning at half-past two. It is, indeed, a most solemn and affecting visitation; and the circumstance of his not being able to articulate since Friday week, serves if possible to add to the longing regret and tenderness of our feelings. He was much in prayer during this interval. Faith was his food in life, and it was his stay in death. He recommended his children in writing to read the works of Hervey and John Newton of London. The 'Theron and Aspasio' of the former was a very favourite composition of his. You would do well to act upon this recommendation; and should such an earnestness now come upon you that you would not rest till you found rest in Christ, and became a faithful and abiding disciple of His, this would indeed be the best memorial of the best of fathers.

"It is my earnest prayer that this event be improved in your lasting and confirmed seriousness. The world is a cheat, and he whose affections are set upon it is living in the delusion of idolatry. How fearfully, then, does the guilt of such idolatry attach to us all! and go over the whole compass of truth, there is not one of its articles fitted to meet such a case and to mend it, but the article of that atonement which lies in the blood of Christ, and of that sanctification which is imparted by the Spirit of Christ. These were the elements of my dear father's religion; and I trust that they will be transmitted as the most valuable bequeathment that can possibly descend to his posterity. Let us be followers of him, and I am indeed deceived if we shall not be the followers of those who, through faith and patience, are now inheriting the promises. I beg you will not be of those who only seek, in a general and indolent way, that they may enter the strait gate. There are many such who shall not be able. We are commanded to strive. It is the one thing needful, for which we should be in readiness to forsake all. May God give you the spirit of grace and supplication, that you may strive with Him in prayer for your salvation. May He give you a desire for the sincere milk of the word, that you may strive, through the Scriptures, to become wise unto salvation. May He so convince you of sin, and of the sacrifice for sin, that you may seek unto Christ, and at length find Him as the Captain of your salvation. Under this Captain fight your way to holiness and to heaven; live the life of the righteous, and your latter end shall be like his. Your faithfulness to your earthly master is an essential, but only a small part of your Christianity, which claims a direction over the whole man, and rests satisfied with nothing short of a regeneration so entire that all old things may be done away, and all things may become new.—I am, my dear Patrick, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ANSTRUTHER, *Sabbath, July* 26*th*, 1818.

"MY DEAR JAMES,—Our excellent father died this morning at half-past two o'clock. I have been with him since Tuesday, and it has been a great alleviation that there seems to have been little of violent pain during the whole of his illness. It was indeed a very quiet and gentle departure, and the heavenly mildness of an aged saint is still upon his countenance. * * * Religion was the element in which he has breathed the whole of his life; it enveloped his deathbed; and he is now inhaling it pure and undefiled before the presence of his God.

"The best effect of this visitation upon us all will be, that it lead us to imitate him by walking in the footsteps of his faith and of his holiness. If the departed look upon the world, I know not what could afford to his spirit a more delightful spectacle than that of his children seeking that gospel which they have aforetime despised—praying for grace, and not ceasing to pray till they have obtained—labouring after conversion, and at length finding the accomplishment of their object—looking earnestly to the free offer of an interest in the blood and righteousness of Christ—and, in short, experiencing this effect of the goodness of God that it leadeth them to repentance.

"It is my earnest prayer that such an influence may proceed from this mournful event on the minds of the members of all our family. It is alarming to think that if we are not made the better of it, we shall become the worse of it. The gospel has a twofold property: it is the savour of life unto life to those who embrace it, but of death unto death to those who reject it. If we do not rest upon it for salvation, it will fall upon us for our everlasting destruction. God reproves us by His providence as well as by His word; and he who being often thus reproved hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy. May God deliver us from the fate of those who despise the riches of His forbearance and long-suffering, and after their hardness and impenitent heart treasure up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.

"The funeral is to be on Friday. I shall write you after it.

Give my kindest compliments to Mrs. Chalmers and Mary; and believe me to be ever yours, with the very greatest affection,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the day before the funeral Dr. Chalmers wrote to a much cherished Christian friend:—" I shall find it out of my power to visit the North of Fife at present. My father's death renders it proper and necessary for me to give the whole time of this excursion to his family. He died in peace, and, I am confident, is now in glory. He was a veteran Christian, who had long walked in the good old way of justification by the righteousness of Christ, and sanctification by the Spirit which is at His giving. Hervey and Newton were his favourite authors, and in particular 'Theron and Aspasio,' which, I am ashamed to say, I had not read till just now that I am engaged in the perusal of it. I feel, my dear Miss Collier, that the righteousness of Christ unmixed with baser materials, untempered with strange mortar, unvitiated by human pretensions of any sort, is the solid resting-place on which a man is to lay his acceptance before God, and that there is no other; that to attempt a composition between grace and works is to spoil both, and is to deal a blow both to the character of God and to the cause of practical holiness This is my firm conviction; but I trust you understand that it may be a firm conviction without being a bright and rapture-giving perception. I know that it should enrapture me—that it should throw me into the transports of gratitude—that it should make me feel as a man in all the triumphs of confident anticipation, but I have occasional visitations of darkness and dulness and spiritual lethargy, and then, like Rutherford, I would like to believe in the dark—to keep my hold in the midst of all my darkness and all my misgivings—to humble myself because of my cold insensibility, but still to trust determinedly, to trust in the name and righteousness of my Lord.

"I think that holiness is looked upon by some evangelical writers in rather a lame and inadequate point of view. They value it chiefly as an evidence of justifying faith. They are right in saying that it gives no title to God's favour, but they are wrong in saying that its chief use is to ascertain that title, or to make that title clear to him who possesses it.

"It is, in fact, chiefly valuable on *its own account.* It forms part, and an effective part, of salvation. It may be considered as an entrance upon heaven. Christ came to give us a justifying righteousness, and He also came to make us holy—not chiefly for the purpose of evidencing here our possession of a justifying righteousness—not for so temporary an object as this, but for the purpose of forming and fitting us for a blessed eternity.

"If the only inducement to a new acquirement of holiness was that it made our title clearer and multiplied our evidences, this does not appear so direct or powerful an inducement as when we are told that holiness is, in fact, the happiness of heaven, and then do we understand how every new accession of it adds to our treasure in heaven, and how, by approximating us to the lost image of God, it, in fact, is helping onwards the great and ultimate object to which our justification may be considered only as a means and a preliminary. Was holiness prosecuted for no other object than to clear up our title to the happiness of heaven, then the whole of the prosecution is animated by a selfish principle. Let holiness be prosecuted as that which constitutes the very element of heaven, and without which we could not breathe in it, then we have the most powerful, direct, and intelligible argument that can be conceived for the acquirement of a character not to work out a meritorious cause of salvation, but to work out an indispensable requisite for heaven—not to found a title, for that through the great Head by whom we hold has been already done, but to complete a preparation without which I do not say a man has no right to see God, but without which there is no possibility that a man can see God. I trust that I am the better of Hervey. I like to see a clear and vigorous line of demarcation drawn around the ground of our acceptance with God. I like to see it cleared from all the rubbish of human knowledge and human pollution. I like to see the firm and unmixed plea of the Lord my righteousness held out to sinners in all its power to encourage them to come to the Lawgiver; and not till a man submits to Christ as his alone righteousness will he repair to Him as his alone strength; not till he make himself wholly over to the Redeemer for acceptance will he make himself wholly over to Him for sanctification; not till he put away all confidence from himself, and put all his joy in the Lord Jesus, will he serve God in the spirit; for whether do we receive the Spirit by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?

"I desire my affectionate regards to my dear friends Dr. Macculloch and Mrs. Coutts. Mention me also in terms of cordiality to Miss Coutts and the Miss Maccullochs. Give my kindest remembrances to Mr. and Mrs. Walker.

"Do pray for me, that I may have more light, more comfort, more steadfastness in my Christian walk. Oh that we had more of the power of it in our hearts, and that God would vouchsafe a measure of light and of strength from His sanctuary! How humbling to all learning when a man is made to know that his doctrine has outrun his experience."

Dr. Chalmers remained with his mother and family for about a fortnight after his father's funeral, and was then obliged to plunge once more into the vortex at Glasgow, from the midst of which, after a week or two's experience of its effects, he wrote to Mrs. Morton :—"There is something in the bustle of this place that is much calculated to keep impressions of sensibility away from us. My father's death, however, hangs about me, and I am thrown into frequent and occasional fits of tenderness. I look towards Anster now with the feeling of its having sustained an irreparable mutilation. I strive to profit by this dispensation ; and what I feel to be the foremost lesson to be gathered from the remembrance of an example now solemnized and consecrated by death, is a lesson of meek and enduring patience under the wrongs of this world's provocations. What an indulgent father he was to us all. How effusive his kindness and affection to his whole family. How much, alas ! in the way of thoughtlessness and perverseness and impatience had he to suffer, and with what uncomplaining mildness he suffered it. Oh that God may perpetuate this lesson in my heart, and that from the image of my departed father there may beam a holy and a peaceful influence at all times upon me ! I can write no more upon this subject, for in truth it is still a subject of deep and tender agitation."

On his return to Glasgow on Saturday the 15th August Dr. Chalmers resumed his Journal letters :—

" *Sunday, August* 16*th*.—I found on my arrival a line from Dr. Fleming, offering me a sermon in the forenoon, which I accepted. My appearance in my own seat was quite unexpected by the people. Dr. F. preached a very acceptable and well-liked sermon. I had a very crowded audience in the afternoon, and saw much of evident cordiality and good-will on the part of my hearers.

" *Monday.*—The Grand Duke Michael came to Glasgow late on Sunday evening, and this day went round the town. We were before him at the Lunatic Asylum, but did not wait his arrival there. On passing Mr. Harley's cow-house, I saw the crowd collected about Michael's retinue, and I saw four gentlemen go into an open carriage, one of whom was Michael himself, but

I could get nobody to point him out to me; so that I have seen Michael, and yet may be said never to have looked at him.

" *Tuesday.*—Busied myself with miscellaneous work in the forenoon. I dined at Mr. Allan Buchanan's at two. Michael and suite had proposed to visit their calender, but kept the men waiting, and did not come on Monday. Allan accompanies me to Mr. M'Vicar's proportion, and though Michael was still expected, he left the calender for me, nor could all my importunities prevail upon him to remain at his post. We afterwards learned that Michael did come, and Mr. William had to do all the ceremony himself. After dinner we went to Mr. M'Vicar's, and proceeded to a diet of visitation. Drank tea in Mr. M'Vicar's at six, and addressed a population of eighty-two between seven and eight.

" *Wednesday.*—Mr. John Brown of Whitburn came in to tea; I got him to stop all night with me. Mr. Collins came in after supper, and we had a great deal of worthy cordial Christian conversation.

" *Thursday.*—I got up at half-past six, thinking that I would have a canny sederunt at composition, but my ink-bottle was in the dining-room, and I had to slip down for it, when, lo and behold, Mr. Brown was there before me. He was engaged to go out to breakfast, but it was at a distance, and Janet had previously spread the table, on which Mr. B., thinking that I was just going to sit down, said he would like a cup before going out. This compelled breakfast the first. I had previously asked Mr and Mrs. Pringle from Hawick (the latter of whom was daughter to my landlady there seventeen years ago) to breakfast with me this morning. I snatched an hour for composition in the interval. Professor Leslie with Mr. Leslie called before breakfast second, and the Professor said, after a short stay, that he was engaged, but would call again in an hour. Mr. and Mrs. Pringle came, and we had breakfast the second. After they left me the Edinburgh Professor called, and as I was preparing to go out, another Edinburgh Professor called, even Dr. Thomas Brown of the Moral Philosophy. Their fresh visages and disencumbered buoyancy of mind made me envy the situation of a Professor, and I would positively take the Divinity if it was offered to me. I went out with them towards the College, took leave of Professor L. with an invitation to sup, walked a little with Professor B., then called on George Burns about some parish business, then ran to Mr. Smith's bath, then stopped to talk a little with him and Mr. Constable, then dined at two with Mr. A. Buchanan, then called on Mr. M'Vicar, and made another round amongst my dear websters and winders and cart-drivers and brushmakers, then drank tea in Mr. M'V.'s, then addressed my people for an hour, then called with Mr. A. Buchanan at Stockwell on my aunt, then returned to Kensington Place, where Mr. A. B., Professor B., and Mr. Leslie, supped with me. I have a great natural relish for the Professor. I got to bed about half-past eleven.

" *Friday.*—Got a good spell at composition this morning. The steeple is condemned. It must be rebuilt ere the church can be entered, and the removal is to be postponed till Whitsunday. I have a very comfortable prospect of additions, however, to my agency, and I trust, if spared to be here and in life, I shall have all my men at their post on the day of my removal to St. John's.

" *Saturday.*—Rose about half-past six. Composed. Had Mr. George Burns, Mr. Ramsay, a Sabbath-school teacher, Mr. Gilfillan, and a younger brother from South America, to breakfast with me. Went after breakfast with Messrs. Burns and Ramsay to the parish, where I assigned to each a local district and procured scholars for them. Visited a few sick. Called by appointment on Mr. Falconer, and went out with him John Smith and Mr. Collins, to his country house, where we dined drank tea and had indeed a very pleasant afternoon. Walked home between eight and nine, and on my arrival found a line from Lord Elgin at the Black Bull, who told me of the arrival of himself and family in Glasgow. I felt it too late to call upon him, and so I spent a pleasant three hours with preparation for Sabbath, and went to bed about twelve.

" *Sunday.*—Started at eight. Breakfasted at nine. Called on John Smith, and got him to apprize Mr. Wodrow, one of our teachers, of a probable visit which nobility would make to his school. When Lady Elgin heard of the Sabbath-school expedition, she countermanded an engagement to dine with Mr. M'Intosh. The church greatly crowded all this day. I preached both times. I took the bath in Harley's after the afternoon sermon, then dined at home, then called on John Smith, then went with him to the Black Bull, then got Lady Elgin to go to Mr. Wodrow's school, where Lord Elgin came soon afterwards in his gig. Mr. Wodrow was greatly embarrassed, and matters did not go on promisingly. Mr. Smith went for Mr. Collins, and we adjourned to George Burns's school in Charlotte Lane, when Lord and Lady Elgin both seemed to be very much gratified. I conducted part of the examination. We returned to the Black Bull at eight, when I took leave of them.

" *Monday.*—Went down to the Black Bull after breakfast. Dr. Jeffrey of the College and I are the conductors of the grand cavalcade. He contributed one carriage, in which he went with the Ladies Bruce. After it followed the carriage in which were Lady Elgin, Mrs. Hamilton, and myself, and behind us Mr. Hamilton's three sons in a kind of basket. The crowd followed us and gathered about us at every place where we stopped. Our objects were:—1. The Lunatic Asylum. 2. The Cow-house. 3. Observatory, where we had not sun enough for the microscope. 4. Tambouring machine. 5. Black Bull, where we took a little refreshment. 6. Mr. Thomson's spinning-mill on the other side of the water. 7. Power-looms. 8. Girdwood's Works. Mr. Thomson, our friend, was with us at the two last places. 9. A drive by the Catholic Chapel, Gaol, Nelson's Monument. 10. Mr. Buchanan's calender. 11. Singeing machine, whither Mr. A. Buchanan attended us. 12. Black Bull, where we all sat down to dinner about seven o'clock. The party was much gratified, in particular Lady Elgin, who, on the subject of machinery, was quite intelligent.

"*Tuesday.*—All the Black Bull party went off this morning early for Loch Lomond excepting Lord Elgin, who is still confined with the gout. He could not accompany us yesterday, and this day I had a note from him craving a call. I went to him after dinner, and stopped an hour with him. He remains till the Lochlomonders return, and, in the meantime, goes to Mr. M'Intosh this evening. I left the Black Bull, and made a number of visits upon the sick. Came home after seven, calling on John Smith on my return, and getting my usual convoy from him. Drank tea, and had an excellent hour and a half for reading Dr. Brown.

"*Wednesday.*—Did not get up till after seven. Composed till breakfast time. I find the morning system a very admirable one. It shakes off a weight from me for the whole day. I am no longer troubled with interruptions, for before they happen I am independent of them, and I can carry out a more Christian aspect of cordiality and welcome and good-will to all who want me.

"I pray that God may effectually take the ascendency over your thoughts, affections, and principles. Turn unto Him in the name of Christ, and He will turn unto you. Oh that this movement was decisively taken, that the visitation of a real and settled earnestness was felt, that the question was taken up and prosecuted, that the word of God was desired even as milk is desired by the babe, and that we from one day to another were studying how we should most advance the glory of Him who hath formed and hath redeemed us !

" Give my kindest compliments to my mother and Isabel. Tell Anne and Eliza that papa is well, and he wants them both to be very good girls. Oh, my dearest ! let us think more feelingly of their souls, and let us pray and strive that all the members of our family shall meet in heaven."

" *Glasgow, August 27th,* 1818.—After sending away your letter yesterday afternoon, I went to the Observatory, and spent an hour with Mr. Cross, looking at his instruments. On my return I sat me down to read, when in came Miss —— about jelly ; and I really disliked exceedingly the idea of my retirement being broken up by her trocking. I therefore gave no encouragement to it, and said what I thought was really the case, that the jelly was already made ; and then she went to Janet with a proposal about apple jelly, and I can assure you the whole matter terminated very much to my satisfaction, when I understood it to be the result of the whole conference that I stood in no danger of the threatened invasion.

" *Thursday.*—Rose at half-past six. Composed. During breakfast a young woman came in to talk of her soul,* the same whom I visited when in fever. She is also very poor. If I knew it to be genuine I should feel more freedom in communicating. Sallied out at twelve. Called on Mr. Kirkland; then visited a sick person in my parish; then attended a funeral; then went up to Mr. Smith's, and asked the servant to fill the bath; then visited Mrs. Smith, who is still in a very doubtful way. She pressed me to eat grapes that she had, which I did very much to my own satisfaction. This, however, took up so much time, that when I returned to the bath I found it a complete bumper. Took my three dips in it, and then called on Lord Elgin, who took up your brother's case with zeal and friendship, and is to converse with Mr. Hamilton about it. I read of Thomas Brown, and went to bed about ten.

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* While Dr. Chalmers was very busily engaged one forenoon in his study, a man entered, who at once propitiated him under the provocation of an unexpected interruption, by telling him that he called under great distress of mind. " Sit down, Sir; be good enough to be seated," said Dr. Chalmers, turning eagerly and full of interest from his writing-table. The visitor explained to him that he was troubled with doubts about the Divine origin of the Christian religion; and being kindly questioned as to what these were, he gave among others what is said in the Bible about Melchisedek being without father and without mother, &c. Patiently and anxiously Dr. Chalmers sought to clear away each successive difficulty as it was stated. Expressing himself as if greatly relieved in mind, and imagining that he had gained his end—" Doctor," said the visitor, " I am in great want of a little money at present, and perhaps you could help me in that way." At once the object of his visit was seen. A perfect tornado of indignation burst upon the deceiver, driving him in very quick retreat from the study to the street door, these words escaping among others—" Not a penny, Sir ! not a penny ! It's too bad ! it's too bad ! And to haul in your hypocrisy upon the shoulders of Melchisedek !"

"*Friday.*—Started a little after six. Composed. Went to Dunchattan to breakfast, and found that Lord Elgin had gone from it yesternight. Walked to the Black Bull, where I found the whole party returned from the West. Told them that I would call again; and in the meantime visited Mr. Elder's school at the Saltmarket. On my return got out the whole party to another excursion.

"*Saturday.*—Started precisely at six. Made preparations for Sunday till breakfast time. Lord Elgin talked to me of the Military College, and told me that Mr. Hamilton and he agreed in thinking that my best plan was to write immediately to Lord Melville. This I will not do. I have no title, and it would at once make me a poor partisan of Ministry. I was proceeding to finish off my preparation for to-morrow, when in came Mr. Collins, and beseeched me, as the town was choke full of strangers, that I would preach my sermon on dissipation.

"*Sunday.*—Rose at eight. After breakfast called upon Lady Elgin at the Black Bull. Preached in the forenoon the first part of my sermon on dissipation. I had the feeling that

I was just preaching over again what many had previously heard ; but John Smith was in the vestry previous to the afternoon service, and assured me that not above 200 had heard it, and that I could preach nothing more acceptable. There was a great crowd all day.

"*Monday.*—Started at six. I threw off four pages, or half a careful sermon, before breakfast.

"*Tuesday.*—Started at six. Wrote four pages of long-hand ; breakfasted; wrote letters. My sermon on dissipation appears to have made some impression; and I am satisfied that it is right to repeat some of my Thursday's sermons in the Tron Church.

"*Thursday.*—Dined with Mr. Kirkland ; Mr. Stow along with us. Went down with these gentlemen at three, and entered on the visitation of Mr. Kirkland's proportion. Went round among the families till half-past six, and adjourned to Mr. Collins's to tea. Went back to a house at seven, and convened the families for an address. After it was over, walked home about nine. Mr. Stow accompanied me, and I prevailed on him to engage for some temporary agency in this district.

"*Friday.*—Rose a little after six. Got Janet to put paper, wood, and coals into the fireplace of my bed-room the night before. Have got a match-box and lighted it on rising. This I propose to make my system all winter. Chip-wood is to be had for purchasing, and I shall have a sufficiency of waste paper ; so that either in the study or the drawing-room, rather than in the bed-room the air of which will not be so free, I shall light up a fire every morning. Prepared some shorthand for Sunday. Breakfasted at nine. Wrote letters. Went out before twelve. Called on Mr. Allan Buchanan at the calender. Took him down to the parish, and assigned him his Sabbath-school district, and got him twenty-six scholars. Visited also some sick. On my return a curious circumstance occurred to me in the Gallowgate. A porter half-drunk came up to me, and stated that two men were wanting to see me. He carried me to a tavern, when it turned out that there was a wager between these men whether this said porter was correct in his knowledge of me. He told me before that he was a parishioner of mine, and I recollected him as one of those whom I had visited. But I was so revolted at this impertinency, that I made the ears of all who were in the house ring with a reproof well said and strong; and so left them a little astounded I have no doubt.

"*Grangemouth, September 8th*, 1818.—I preached only in the forenoon of Sunday. There was an immense crowd.

"*Monday.*—Started at five. Visited a dying man in Charlotte Street, and returned to Port-Dundas by nine. I got on to No. 16 by one o'clock. Dr. Wilson was there waiting for me. I walked with him to Falkirk, where I preached for the Sabbath-schools. Dr. W. kept everybody out who gave no silver, so that the audience did not just fill the Church, but it was a very select one. The collection was £70. Dined in Dr. Wilson's with a large party of Falkirkers.

"*Tuesday.*—Started at six. Am rejoicing in this habit; for I can just do as much now with a day full of bustle as I did before on a system of resistance and exclusion. Began my next Thursday's sermon, and am now quite resolved to give up all anxious feeling about the quantity of composition. Breakfasted in Mr. M'Nab's with a large party of Grangemouth people. After breakfast was driven up to Falkirk in Mr. M'Nab's gig by his servant, when I called on Dr. Wilson. Took him into the gig, and drove on to Carron, where I was received with great distinction by the superintendent of the works and one of the chief proprietors, who conducted me in person through its vast and ponderous machinery. From that went to Falkirk Tryst, held in a large moor—a prodigious cattle-market, of 10,000 beasts, and half as many people. After loitering through this scene, rode back to Grangemouth through a rich and beautiful country, and dined in Mr. M'Nab's. Here there was another large party invited to meet me. After they went, had a pleasant conversation in the evening with the family.

" *Wednesday.*—Started at six. Wrote away with ships and sailors and huzzas and the whole work and roar of a crowded pier immediately under my window, but felt no disturbance. Breakfasted with Mr. Weddel of the Customs ; Mr. M'Nab and others along with me. At eleven the Customhouse boat was got ready—its colours hoisted—a broad flag at the stern, a long streaming pinnet from the foremast. I was accompanied to the boat by all the constituted authorities of the place and two ladies. I took leave of the ladies and most of the party at the boat ; but there accompanied me to Kincardine Mr. M'Nab, Mr. Morehead, collector of the Customs, and Mr. Weddel, comptroller. The boat was manned by four sailors, and the whole of this escort and preparation was for the single purpose of conveying me across the water. We had a very pleasant sail of six miles, and I really felt much gratified, and I hope grateful for these kind and honourable attentions. Reached Kincardine in less than an hour.

" *Thursday.*—Started at six. I was engaged to breakfast in Mr. Sand's, when two Burgher ministers were asked. We mustered up three horses, and had a very pleasant ride in the forenoon to Salinehill, about nine miles from Kincardine. The day was clear, and we saw at least sixteen counties. I could not believe that I would have seen what I saw most distinctly and undeniably—Loudoun Hill in Ayrshire, and the Goatfell of Arran, with hills beyond them. Figure, my dear, that from a hill in Fife you should see the Arran hills, which look so prominent from Fairlie." * * *

"*Glasgow, September 28th,* 1818.—*Monday.*—Composed. Had a party of six at breakfast. Was bothered with a proposal from Mr. H. about a school in Brussels. All right; but why must Dr. Chalmers be ever and anon the rallying point of every such operation? Why are they constantly running with all their plans and propositions to Dr. Chalmers? What idle, wandering, leisurely person is this Dr. Chalmers, who has so much time to spare for every enterprise that is conceived and set agoing by all the philanthropists of this our age?

"*Wednesday.*—Wrote for the General Session. I had not sat long when in came Miss ——, with all the plenitude of some mighty doing, which turned out neither more nor less than a plum-jelly operation, which greatly in opposition to my wishes she brought upon me whether I would or not. Janet had spoken to me some days before, when I told her that you had given no directions about it, and that I did not want it. Janet now tells me that she told Miss —— that you had given no orders about it, but did not like to tell her that I did not want it. I told her so myself, however, but it seems the materials were all bought and the operations begun; and Miss ——, upon feeling corrected by my remark, spoke so as to fill me with a kind of remorse at my severity. So I went out on a round of visitation, and took her mother in my way. Called also on Mr. Turpie; and on coming back at four found the table covered for me and Miss ——. She left me about six. The operation is completed."

"*Glasgow, October 2d,* 1818.—I preached yesterday (Thursday) to a full house, and it gratifies me to think that labour expended on a sermon does not render it the less but the more acceptable. Let me labour to preach Christ and not myself. In coming home at eight found Mr. Brown of Biggar, who supped with me, and with whom I had a truly agreeable *conversazione.*

"*Saturday.*—I devoted this forenoon to parochially visiting the sick, and had comfort in the exercise.

"*Sunday.*—Preached in the forenoon to an immense crowd.

The circuit is now sitting, and I saw a number of law-looking faces there. Went down in the evening to the Tron, where I preached to another very immense crowd. Oh that God would simplify my aim and that of my hearers!

" *Monday.*—Mr. Falconer called between eleven and twelve. He told me that he had been dining lately with Mr. ——, who had complained bitterly of my neglect towards his family, and compared it with my attentions to Mr. B., whom, by the way, I have only spent a single hour with in the evening for a whole half year, and Mr. Falconer concluded with recommending it to me to make up for my bygone negligence. I should have heard this with the utmost patience and charity, in which I am sorry to say that I failed. I should bear all things, and do all without murmurings and disputings, and be meek and gentle with all men. But, at the same time, it is obviously impossible that I can be dragged or dragooned into Mr. ——'s house in his present humour, or pay an attention extorted from me in the spirit of a jealous exactor; nor do I think it my duty to dine at my hearers' tables whenever they choose to let out an invitation. I must try to keep a charitable spirit towards him; and I am sure that my absence from his house bears no more reference to him particularly than it does to the hundred others who have kept asking and asking at me, and have just as good a right to be angry as he, that I have never moved a single footstep to them. This is really a vulgarism which must be abolished. * * * The —— have been particularly cold at meeting, and Mr. Falconer's remarks have let me into the explanation. They have conceived themselves to be grievously insulted by the neglect of unconscious me, who all the while was prosecuting my own affairs without the slightest intention either of offending them or any other body—who spoke when I was spoken to, and went to the church when the bell rang.

"*Tuesday.*—I met Mr. ——, and was charged by him with not calling. I told him that I was told the same thing by a hundred others. Parted with him in good humour. Spoke again to the excellent Mr. Falconer about it, and had a good deal of mild and charitable remark from him. I believe I shall call and give Mr. —— my whole mind about this matter. In the meantime, let it be my most fixed and firm determination to cultivate a distance from general society. I beg you will come to Glasgow on this principle, my dear, and let us do our utmost to keep our house clear of the swarms by which it has been hitherto infested.

"I find that I cannot leave Glasgow till Tuesday the 13th, which is Tuesday first, owing to my having to meet a few more sacramental people on Monday. I shall not expect another letter from you before meeting, and you need not expect another from me if all is well. Take the utmost care of Anne; and oh! my dear, let us never forget that the care of souls is the one thing needful. Oh! my dearest, let Christ be full in your eye: He has wrought out a righteousness for you. Lay hold of it; cleave to it; let it not go. Feel that you live by Him, and pray that you be inclined and enabled to live to Him. Oh! my dear G., let us comfort, support, and encourage each other in this matter.—Believe me, my ever dearest Grace, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the day mentioned in the last paragraph of this journal—Tuesday the 13th October—Glasgow lost one of the most eminent of its ministers by the sudden death of the Rev. Dr. Balfour. On the preceding day he was attacked on the street by an illness which prevented his reaching home—was carried into a friend's house, and after thirty-two hours of lingering insensibility, died there, in the 71st year of his age, and 40th of his ministry in Glasgow. The interest he had taken in his appointment to the Tron Church—the great personal kindness which he had shown—his perfect freedom from all professional jealousy, and his cordial delight at the promise of good presented by his peculiar parochial labours, had endeared Dr. Balfour to Dr. Chalmers, and on the Sabbath which succeeded his death, in closing his discourse, he gave the following expression to his regret and admiration :—

" I have also to make another intimation. The Sabbath next following is the anniversary of our collection for the Bible Society. To stimulate that collection I have an ample store of materials for argument and encouragement, but I forbear them all for the sake of one touching argument which lies nearer home, and the force of which, as well as the tenderness of which, will, I am persuaded, be felt by every Christian in our society. The cause for which I am pleading has lost one of the most zealous and the most distinguished of its advocates. He who, on this very day, and perhaps at this very hour, would have been eloquently asserting its claims, is now eloquent no more. Those lips from which there wont to flow all the power of persuasion as well as all its gentleness, are for ever sealed; and his well enthroned ascendency over the people who wont to lead the way in this great exertion of Christian philanthropy can be no longer maintained by the energy of the living voice, but after the deep emotion of a few weeks and the ceaseless fluctuation of a few years, must at length fade away amongst the remembrances of the dead. The death of one so eminent should redouble the energy of survivors. It is like the giving way of the sheet anchor, which leaves the vessel in distress, and puts the mariners on their expedients. Our city laments and is dejected under an event which saddens the hearts of all its population. But it is just such an event as should rally in more strenuous determination every friend of Christian philanthropy. It should draw them together in a firmer bond ; and

I trust that none who revere the memory of our departed patriarch, that none who felt while he was alive the worth and the weight of his venerable testimony, will ever abandon the cause which he cherished upon earth, and has now left an orphan upon your liberalities and your prayers.

"There are certain topics almost too oppressive for a public speaker to venture on, and the event which suggested the delivery of the above observations most assuredly is one of them. Death never makes such effectual demonstration of his power as when he singles out the man who occupies the largest space in public estimation—as when he seizes upon him whose loss is felt by thousands with all the tenderness of a family bereavement—as when he puts a sudden arrest upon his movements, and that before the infirmities of age had withdrawn him from the labours of a conspicuous and increasing usefulness—as when, with the force and rapidity of a whirlwind, he meets his unsuspecting victim, and bears him away from the familiar walk of life and business and activity to the chamber of his last agonies—as when he sends the fearful report of this his achievement through the streets of the city, and it runs in an appalling whisper among the multitude—as when all that inquiring friends and weeping relations can do serves only to demonstrate how vain is the help of man, and how sure and how resistless are the approaches of the last enemy.

"There is something in the feelings even of unsanctified nature which revolts from speaking evil of the dead, and accordingly it has often been remarked that death hushes the voice of calumny, and disarms her of all her bitterness. But in the present instance this had not to be done. That eminent servant of Christ who now rests from his labours had the outset of his ministry beset with all the antipathies of human corruption against the truth as it is in Jesus, but he stood the zealous and the unmoved champion of the faith once delivered to the saints, and for forty years has he witnessed amongst you the good confession of a firm and consistent testimony; and doctrines the most galling to the pride and to the ungodliness of men he fearlessly avowed, because he knew them to be the doctrines of the gospel. But he not only uttered them in word, he also felt them in power; and so they broke out upon his character in the fair efflorescence of all that is kind and beauteous and attractive in practical Christianity. And thus there were many who felt no sympathy with his evangelical principles, yet could not withstand the exemplification of evangelical worth and evangelical temper which stood visibly engraven on the character of the living and the acting man. And hence, my brethren, am I confident that I speak to the observations of you all, when I say that he accomplished by his living what the majority of men can only attain by their dying, he at length purchased an entire exemption from the asperities of human censure; and after compelling the silence of gainsayers by the lustre of his unquestionable virtues, did he spend the last years of his course surrounded by the honours of a well-known and established reputation, loved by all and venerated by all.

"The pulpit is not the place for panegyric, but surely it is the place for demonstrating the power of Christianity, and pointing the eye of hearers to its actual operation; and without laying open the solitude of his religious exercises, without attempting to penetrate into the recesses of that spirituality which, on the foundation of a living faith, shed the excellence of virtue over the whole of his character, without breaking in upon the hours of his communion with his God, or marking the progress and the preparation of his inner man for that heaven to which he has been called,—were I called upon to specify the Christian grace which stood most visibly and most attractively out in the person of the departed, I would say that it was a cordiality of love, which, amid all the perversities and all the disappointments of human opposition, was utterly unextinguishable; that over every friend who differed from him in opinion he was sure to gain that most illustrious of all triumphs, the triumph of a charity which no resistance could quell; that from the fulness of his renewed heart there ever streamed a kindliness of regard which, whatever the collision of sentiment or whatever the merits of the contest, always won for him the most Christian and the most honourable of all victories. And thus it was that the same spirit which bore him untainted through the scenes of public controversy did, when seated in the bosom of his family, or when moving through the circle of his extended acquaintanceship, break out in one increasing overflow of goodwill on all around him; so that perhaps there is not a man living who when he comes to die will be so numerously followed to the grave by our best of all mourners—the mourners of wounded affection, the mourners of the heart, the mourners who weep and are in heaviness under the feeling of a private and a peculiar and a personal bereavement."*

The civic loss which was thus so eloquently and tenderly lamented, was followed by a national one. On the 17th November Queen Charlotte died; and although it was not his habit to refer often in the pulpit to public events, Dr. Chalmers could not refrain from paying the following tribute to her worth:—

"There appears to be nothing in the progress of religion which is at all calculated to level the gradations of human ranks, or to do away the distinctions of human society. Not to annihilate poverty, for it is said of the poor that they shall be with us always; not to bring down from their eminence the authorities of the land, for there is positively nothing in the Bible that can lead us to infer that even under the peace and righteousness of a millennial age there will not be kings and queens upon the earth; and certain it is that they will be the instruments of helping forward this great moral consummation—the former being the nursing fathers, and the latter the nursing mothers of the Church. The Utopianism which would regenerate the world by political and external revolutions, is, I trust, at this time of day pretty generally exploded. The kingdoms of the earth may become the kingdoms of God and of His Christ with the external framework of these present governments, and at least with all those varieties of outward condition which are offered at this moment to the view of the observer. There must therefore be a way in which Christianity can accommodate itself to this framework—a mode by which it can animate all the parts and all the members of it—a mode by which, without the overthrow of existing distinctions, it can establish a right reciprocity of feeling and of conduct between them—a charm by which it can divest grandeur of all its disdainfulness, and poverty of all its violence, and chasing away all the asperities of party from the land, can, from the monarch's throne to the peasant's hovel, bind together the whole of a Christianized nation under the influence of one common charity.

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* From an unpublished Manuscript.

"Nor will it be, I am persuaded, altogether unsuitable to this train of reflection, if for a single moment I bid you draw a portion of this sweetening influence to your hearts by looking at the tomb of royalty, and contemplating the recent debt which has been paid to the mortality of our common nature. If anything can disarm malice of its spitefulness, it is the death of him who is the victim of it; if anything can drown that murmuring voice by which the Queen of England was wont to be assailed when she stood out in living glory to the public, it will be the Queen of England in her grave. Majesty in the full possession of splendour and enjoyment may provoke the enmity of spectators, but not so with majesty in the coffin. The sympathies of nature will force and will find their way through all the barriers of political asperity. We may now learn a lesson of charity for those whom birth or whom fortune has doomed to the obloquy of greatness. It is a lesson, I do think, that in this age of harsh and unsparing invective, we stand eminently in need of; and it is our joy to perceive that in the present instance the lesson has been acquired, and that, with a few revolting exceptions, one emotion of honest and heartfelt regret accompanies the remembrance of one who, for upwards of half a century, has borne the fatigues and endured the vexations of royalty.

" The favourable eye of the country on the present occasion is resolvable, I think, into something more than the indulgence of feeling, moved and softened into tenderness by death. It appears, in fact, to be the eye of the country opening at length to the perception of a truth which, during the life of our departed Queen, lay involved in the mists of prejudice and delusion. For that one defect with which her memory has been charged, and which certainly is not the besetting sin of princes, there has as yet no evidence transpired in the accumulations of a sordid or excessive parsimony ; and for that other defect, which is the besetting sin of princes, let the history of nearly sixty years vouch for her entire and honourable exemption from it. To estimate the whole weight of the public obligation on this single account, let us just compute the difference in point of effect on the tone of public morals between the royal countenance smiling a connivance on profligacy and impiety, and the royal countenance being steadily and determinately withheld from them. In this age when Sabbaths are trampled under foot, and the sickening profligacies of the country threaten to sweep away the old and characteristic virtues of the families of England, I cannot but look on the removal of our domestic and sober-minded Queen in the light of a great moral disaster to the land ; and it is my prayer that the friends of public decency may never, never have such a spectacle of licentiousness to sigh over as may lead them to contrast the sad degeneracy that is before them with the remembrance of those purer and better days, when one who was decked with the splendours of a coronet could maintain throughout the whole of her deportment the habits of a Christian ; when vice was abased and overawed in the presence of royalty ; and she who stood loftiest in grandeur, stood also the foremost in moral guardianship to shield the purity and matronize the virtues of the British nation."*

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* Unpublished MS.—On the occasion of the death of George III., which occurred on the 29th of January 1820, he made from the pulpit the following allusion to the event :—"Though he was well stricken in years ere he gave up the ghost, and is now to be gathered to his fathers, and though, ere the visitation of death, he languished for many months under the power of another and more affecting visitation, and though the eyes of our venerable monarch had long been closed in darkness, and though his faculties lay imprisoned in a darkness still more mysterious, and though he had long ceased to tread that public walk where the humblest of his people were often cheered and dignified by the greetings of their Sovereign, and though in respect of moral and intellectual distance he stood as remote from the nation as if he had already travelled through the dark vale that leads from time to eternity—yet who does not feel that the final extinction of that life, all faded as it was, has left a mournful and a melancholy blank in the country behind it? One cannot think without a movement of sensibility that in him the longest and the busiest period of British history has come to its termination, and the lapse of time is, as it were, more prominently marked by the disappearance of him who for more than half a century figured the most exalted personage among its affairs; and the very virtues of our monarch, so fitted to uphold the piety and the morals of an else degenerate age, serve to imbitter the regrets of our nation; and I am confident that I speak the feelings of all who are present, when I say that in every bosom the good and the venerable and the holy stand associated with the idea of his person; so that though for years he may rationally and politically be said to have expired, yet to the country's feelings a certain charm which his death has now broken up still continued to hang over the barely vital existence of our beloved king; nor do we know in what other way the loss can be replaced to our empire than by the personal influence of his Christianity and his worth being transmitted through the royal line from generation to generation, thoroughly assured as we are that the moral force which lies in the character of our rulers does more to maintain the piety and the order of any community of human beings than either the political force which lies in the wisdom of our councils, or even the military force which lies in the vigour and promptitude of our arms."—Unpublished MS.

CHAPTER IX.

PUBLICATION OF A VOLUME OF SERMONS—TRANSLATION TO THE PARISH OF ST. JOHN'S—VISIT TO DUNBLANE—ATTEMPTS TO EXTRICATE HIMSELF FROM THE EXCITING SYSTEM OF PAUPER-MANAGEMENT—PROPOSED AS CANDIDATE FOR THE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY CHAIR IN EDINBURGH—AGITATION IN GLASGOW—ANXIETIES OF DR. CHALMERS—FIRST NUMBER OF THE "CIVIC AND CHRISTIAN ECONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS"—OPENING OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN'S—DECISION OF THE MAGISTRATES AND COUNCIL IN HIS FAVOUR—FINAL EXTRICATION FROM DIFFICULTIES, AND COMMENCEMENT OF PAROCHIAL OPERATIONS IN ST. JOHN'S.

"My volume labours very much during the process of its delivery. It is a very large impression that they are throwing off, and it may be pretty far on in January ere the publication is completed. I am sure that it will bring another nest of hornets about me, in the shape of angry critics and reviewers. It has been singularly the fate of my publications to be torn to pieces in the journals, but at the same time to be extensively bought and read, and surely one would suppose from this with some kind of gratification by the public at large." Dr. Chalmers wrote thus in November 1818, regarding a volume of congregational sermons which was then passing through the press. The impression was a large one, the publisher having resolved to print at once 7000 copies, and the process of its delivery was so much more tedious than its author had contemplated, that the volume was not published till the 24th of February 1819. The hopes of the publisher and the fears of the author were alike disappointed, the sale being slower, and the critics less angry than either had anticipated. The superintendence of the press, however, formed but an insignificant portion of the labour undergone during the winter of 1818-19. "I never," writes Dr. Chalmers on the 24th April 1819, "kept so close by Glasgow, nor worked so hard in it as during this last winter. I have now preached twenty-nine Sabbaths without intermission in the Tron Church, and that without a stated assistant, though I have occasionally got assistance for half a day." It was because he believed that the time of parting was so near at hand that he kept so closely by the Tron Church congregation. On the 5th of June 1818, the Magistrates and Town Council had elected him to be minister of the church then in course of erection. The new church was considerably larger than the Tron, involving of course more fatigue to the preacher who should occupy its pulpit. The new parish was to contain a population of at least 10,000, composed almost entirely of operatives. With a larger church and a worse population there seemed but little reason why Dr. Chalmers should prefer St. John's to the Tron; but this translation promised to open the way for the accomplishment of his favourite parochial projects. With the old parishes of Glasgow the Magistrates and Council, bound either by law or practice, could not do as they pleased, nor had any of the ministers or kirk-sessions a separate and independent parochial authority. It was however understood, that the official authorities were prepared to go so far along with Dr. Chalmers as to enable him in this new parish to try those schemes of reformation which he was known to have so much at heart, and in which by the very necessities of his position he had hitherto been thwarted. In obtaining authority from the Court in Edinburgh to erect this parish, the Magistrates and Council had procured the insertion of a clause in the deed of erection entitling them, should they deem it expedient, to give the minister and kirk-session a certain separate independent and exclusive jurisdiction; and they had instructed their committee annually appointed for the letting of the seats in the city churches, in the event of Dr. Chalmers being presented to St. John's, " in letting the seats of that Church to give a preference, first, to those persons resident in St. John's parish, who, in consequence of the public notice to that effect, had lodged their application with the Chamberlain prior to the date of the last meeting of Council ; and, secondly, to such members of Dr. Chalmers's present congregation as may be inclined to remove to St. John's Church."* It was expected at the time that this minute was drawn up that the church would be opened in the autumn of 1818. After being nearly completed, however, a large portion of the building required to be taken down, so that it was not ready for occupation till September 1819. These favourable symptoms of a desire to meet his wishes induced Dr. Chalmers gratefully to accept an appointment which had been so handsomely tendered to him. On the 31st day of March a presentation in his favour to the church and parish of St. John's, accompanied by his letter of acceptance, was laid on the table of the Presbytery of Glasgow, and on the 3d day of June he was formally admitted to the new benefice. " Sabbath first, being the 30th," Dr. Chalmers writes to his friend Mr. Erskine of Linlathen, " is the last of my connexion with the Tron Church, and as the church of St. John's is not yet ready for me, I am counting upon the interval of a good many weeks, during which I propose to expatiate among my friends in the country. My arrangements are going on most prosperously. I have now got thirty-five gentlemen and three lady teachers. I have also completed the survey of my parish, and have still 150 Sabbath-scholars to provide with teachers, besides an indefinite number of female teachers to look out for. Amid great physical distress and many difficulties among our population, it gives me comfort to think of an operation which I am sure alleviates even at present the burden which is upon their spirits, and will, I trust and pray, have fruit in eternity.

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* Copy Minute of Council, of date 5th June 1818.

"I cannot tell you how truly grateful I am for all you write and all you say on theological subjects. You have given most useful direction to my own mind, and I have endeavoured in some of my later pulpit demonstrations to press home the lesson of salvation and spiritual health being synonymous with each other. It is truly excellent what you say of not waiting at the pool. Be assured that many render the method of setting out on the business of Christianity so mystical and so separate from human agency, and so scrupulously remote from all that man can will or do in the matter, as absolutely to discourage him even from going to the pool, even from opening his Bible, even from directing his thoughts to the subject of it, even from hearing what Christ has got to say to him, and turning to its obvious application and purpose the plainest and most palpable of His requirements. Believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Exhausted with the unremitted labour of the preceding winter Dr. Chalmers's first resort was to Dunblane. In passing through Stirling, "I breakfasted," he says, "with Provost Littlejohn, and met all the other members of the deputation; received much cordiality and attention; during the time that I remained saw the church, castle, and other curiosities; the Provost who accompanied me, by expatiating on the beauties and advantages of Stirling, doing his utmost to put me in bad humour with myself and my determination." From the strain of the two following letters we may gather that the quiet of Dunblane, and other advantages enjoyed there, gave a spiritual direction to his thoughts.

"DUNBLANE, *July* 10*th*, 1819.

"DEAR JAMES,—I am here a few days for the mineral waters of this place. * * * My retirement here gives me a leisure for reading which I never enjoyed when in Glasgow. You know that this town is the seat of one of our old Scottish Bishoprics. There was a library left in it by Archbishop Leighton, which survives to this day; and the force, and fidelity, and experience of our older writers far surpass the average compositions of our present day. I have just finished the perusal of one of these works —'Alleine's Alarm to the Unconverted.' If the title do not repel you, I am pretty confident that the subject, after you have got fairly introduced into it, will not; nor could I conceive a more ardent wish in behalf of the dearest friend I have in this world than that he should read that work, and make a faithful application of all its truths to his conscience, and make a serious and deliberate effort to weigh well its various chapters, confident as I am that if he do so, and drink in the spirit of the performance, and actually proceed upon its directions, he will have peace in this world, and perfect felicity in the world to come. You must bear with me in this recommendation. With best compliments to Mrs. Chalmers and Mary, believe me, dear James, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"DUNBLANE, *July 17th*, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,—* * * Since I came here I have been twice at Keir, and am greatly pleased with the whole manner and attentions of that kind and respectable family. I hope to be here till Friday next week, when I move to Edinburgh for two or three days, and then return to spend about a fortnight in Glasgow. * * * I feel my want of capacity for the direct exercises of godliness—am in a state of longing and general earnestness, but want sadly a habitual frame of heavenly-mindedness. I read with mortification, and I had almost said envy, of the devotional feelings and delights of other men; and just feel myself, as it were, at the place of breaking forth, and on the margin only of that spiritual territory within which all is life and light and enlargement and holy affection. It is easy to talk of a simple faith in the testimony; but there must be the issuing of a certain sound on the part of the trumpet to him who lingers at the threshold, and who when told just to believe and just to perform the bare act of faith, is still encompassed with helplessness, and impressed with the suspicions and the straitening of a mind not yet loosed from its bondage. Yet come the enlargement when it will, it must, I admit, come after all through the channel of a simple credence given to the sayings of God, accounted as true and faithful sayings. And never does light and peace so fill my heart as when, like a little child, I take up the lesson, that God hath laid on His own Son the iniquities of us all.—Do believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

"Thomas Erskine, Esq. THOMAS CHALMERS"

On the 27th Dr. Chalmers arrived in Glasgow, and ten busy days were spent in earnest negotiation with the highest official men of the city regarding his favourite plans for the parish of St. John's. With the exception of the arrangement about the seat-letting, which, from the high rate charged for the seats, rendered it comparatively of little effect in so far as the humblest class of his parishioners was concerned, he had hitherto secured only the expression of good-will of leading men in the different public bodies. The time, however, for the actual commencement of his ministry in St. John's was drawing near, and he felt the necessity of having definite and authoritative enactments to proceed upon. One great inducement to the acceptance of the new charge was his hope of introducing a new mode of pauper-management. In order to effect this he required to extricate himself from the meshes of the existing system of administration. Under that system the fund raised by voluntary contributions at the church-doors was kept distinct from the fund raised by legal assessment, and was subject to different control. All the church-door collections were placed at the disposal of the General Session, a body composed of all the ministers and elders of the city. The fund raised by assessment was placed at the disposal of the committee of the Town Hospital, an institution which had both in-door and out-door pensioners. The first application for public relief was made to the elder of the district in which the applicant resided. The case was then reported by this elder to the kirk-session of his own parish. But that kirk-session, not permitted to retain the collection made at its own church-door, and having no definite income with which to square its annual expenditure, had only to insert the name on the roll, fix the allowance, and report to the General Session, from whose funds a monthly distribution was made among the separate kirk-sessions, according to the number and necessities of the cases on the roll of each. When these cases had multiplied beyond the power of the voluntary fund to meet them, or when the largest sum granted by the session, which rarely exceeded five shillings a month, was deemed insufficient from the pauper becoming older or more necessitous, there occurred a transference to the Town Hospital, whose ampler fund admitted of larger allowances. "So that each session," says Dr. Chalmers, describing this cumbrous apparatus, "might have been regarded as having two doors, one of them a door of admittance for the population who stand at the margin of pauperism, and another of them a door of egress to the Town Hospital, through which the occupiers of the outer court made their way into the inner temple. It will be seen at once how much this economy of things tended to relax still more all the sessional administration of the city, and with what facility the stream of pauperism would be admitted at the one end when so ready and abundant a discharge was provided for it at the other. We know not how it was possible to devise a more likely arrangement for lulling the vigilance of those who stood at the outposts of pauperism, and that too at a point where their firm and strenuous guardianship was of greatest consequence—even at the point where the first demonstrations towards public charity were made on the part of the people, and where their incipient tendencies to this new state, if judiciously while tenderly dealt with, might have been so easily repressed. To station one body of men at the entrance of pauperism, and burden them only with the lighter expenses of its outset, from which they have a sure prospect of being relieved by another body of men, who stand charged with the trouble and expense of its finished maturity—there could scarcely have been set agoing a more mischievous process of acceleration towards all the miseries and corruptions which are attendant on the overgrown charity of England."* As a preliminary and essential step, it was necessary that the kirk-session of St. John's should be altogether disjoined both from the General Session and the Town Hospital, and that one simple and unembarrassed relationship should be established between it and the Magistrates and Council. But to effect this was no easy matter, both legal and political difficulties occurring to obstruct it. "If I dare make an allusion to natural philosophy, let me reveal to you, gentlemen," said Dr. Chalmers, addressing himself to the agency of St. John's, "that the difficulties I had to contend with in this matter often put me forcibly in mind of the difficulties which Sir Isaac Newton experienced in his attempt to resolve the problem of three bodies. It is an affair of very simple computation to assign the path of a planet acted upon by the sun exclusively, and when no other force is admitted into the computation than the mutual attraction of the two bodies; but it instantly becomes a labour of very profound analysis when the planet is acted upon both by the sun and the disturbing force of another planet, such as our earth for example, which, under the joint attraction of the sun and moon, gives us an example of the problem of three bodies. Now I just felt, and with great intenseness too, this very difficulty, when I had to compute my way among the mutual attractions, or rather repulsions, of no less than four bodies. When all is reduced to one simple relationship between us and the heritors, all will go smoothly and without embarrassment. But I must confess, that when tossed and tempest-driven under a set of opposing influences which we know not well how to manage or comprehend—when placed in the middle of clashing and conflicting authorities on every side of us, when we had to steer our course under the beck of so many great unwieldy corporations, which appeared to frown from their respective orbits both upon us and upon one another,—I must confess, that when we had thus to walk among such elements of perplexities, the enterprise of assimilating a town to a country parish often looked to me a very hopeless speculation." Toiling amid the difficulties of this problem, he addressed on the 3d August the following letter to the Lord Provost of Glasgow :—

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* See *Works*, vol. xv. pp. 33, 34.

"Glasgow, *August* 3*d*, 1819.

"My Lord,—When I received the intimation of my appointment as minister of St. John's, it gave me sincere pleasure to be informed at the same time, that a letter written by myself to Mr. Ewing* was read to the Magistrates and Council previous to my election, as it gave me the flattering assurance, that the leading objects adverted to in that letter met with the approbation of the honourable body over which your Lordship presides.

"In that letter I adverted to the wish I had long entertained, and which is publicly enough known by other channels, for a separate and independent management, on the part of my session, of the fund raised by collections at the church-door, and with which fund I propose to take the management of all the existing sessional poor within our bounds, and so to meet the new applications for relief as never to add to the general burden of the city by the ordinary poor of the parish of St. John's.

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* See Appendix I.

"And I here beg it to be distinctly understood, that I do not consider the revenue of the kirk-session to be at all applicable to those extraordinary cases which are produced by any sudden and unlooked for depression in the state of our manufactures. Nor, if ever there shall be a call for pecuniary aid on this particular ground, do I undertake to provide for it out of our ordinary means, but will either meet it by a parochial subscription, or by taking a full share of any such general measure, as may be thought expedient under such an emergency.

"Your Lordship will not fail to observe, that if the new cases of ordinary pauperism accumulate upon us in the rate at which they have done formerly, they would soon overtake our present collections. And yet my confidence in a successful result is not at all founded on the expected magnitude of my future collections, but upon the care and attention with which the distribution of the fund will be conducted—a care and an attention which I despair of ever being able to stimulate effectually till I obtain an arrangement by which my session shall be left to square its own separate expenditure by its own separate and peculiar resources.

"At the same time, I can also, with such an arrangement, stimulate more effectually than before the liberality of my congregation; and with this twofold advantage I am hopeful, not merely of being able to overtake the whole pauperism of St. John's, but of leaving a large surplus applicable to other objects connected with the best interests of the population in that district of the city.

"What I propose to do with the surplus is, to apply it as we are able to the erection and endowment of parochial schools, for the purpose of meeting our people not with gratuitous education, but with good education on the same terms at which it is had in country parishes.

"My reason for troubling your Lordship with this intimation is, that I require the sanction of the heritors of the parish ere I can allocate any part of the sum raised by collections in this way. Without this sanction I shall make no attempt to stimulate the liberality of my congregation beyond what is barely necessary for the expenses of pauperism. With this sanction I shall have the best of all arguments by which to stimulate the liberality of my hearers and the care of my distributors, and (most important of all) the zealous co-operation even of the poorest among my people, who will easily be persuaded to observe a moderation in their demands, when they find it stands associated with a cause so generally dear to them as the education of their families.

"There is another object, which I shall not press immediately, but which your Lordship will perceive to be as necessary for the protection of the other parishes of Glasgow as of my own; and that is, that the law of residence shall take effect between my parish and the other parishes of the city. I am quite willing that every other parish shall have protection by this law from the ingress of my poor, in return for the protection of my parish from the ingress of theirs. It is practically the simplest of all things to put this into operation from the very outset. But I mention it now chiefly with a view to be enabled to remind your Lordship, when it comes to be applied for afterwards, that it is not because of any unlooked for embarrassment that I make the application, but in pursuance of a right and necessary object, which even now I have in full contemplation.

"I shall only conclude with assuring your Lordship, that nothing will give me greater pleasure than to transmit, from time to time, the state of our progress in the parish of St. John's respecting all the objects alluded to in this communication; and that I hold myself subject to the same inspection and control from you, as the heritors of my parish, which the law assigns to the heritors of other parishes.

"A deed of consent and approbation relative to the various points that have now been submitted through your Lordship to the Magistrates and Council, will very much oblige, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged and obedient servant,

(Signed) THOMAS CHALMERS."

With this letter unanswered, and amid a host of perplexities as to the future, Dr. Chalmers left Glasgow on the 7th August, staid during the 8th in Edinburgh, and early on the morning of the 9th crossed to Pettycur, where, having an interval of leisure, he thus journalized the events of the preceding day:—"The interesting occurrence of this day is a communication from Sir George Mackenzie and Dr. Brewster, backed with an earnest solicitation from Mr. Thomson that I would allow my friends in Edinburgh to make interest for my succeeding to Playfair in the Natural Philosophy class. There is no doubt it is a situation of great ease and great pecuniary independence; but still I would not abandon St. John's for a year or two if I could carry all my arrangements, nor would I abandon my profession but for the prospect of an equal Christian good in another situation; so that I have just said nothing at all, and, in the meantime, I shall make this a strong argument for two objects:—1. For strenuously and determinedly insisting on all my own arrangements in my own parish. 2. For giving all my strength to its duties, and no part of that strength to other things. It is very hard when one set of friends urge my acceptance of the Professorship, because, say they, I will kill myself with the fatigue of my present exertions, that another set of friends, after I put away the Professorship for the sake of parochial usefulness, will lay the most interminable fatigue upon me additional to the work of my parish. I shall after this stand upon high ground for doing nothing to draw me away from an employment for the sake of which I have put a situation of ease and enjoyment away from me; and not only so, but for keeping all my strength entire by squandering away none of it on preaching and speechifying out of my proper and peculiar limits. I am more fortified than ever now by this event in my resolution to incur no fatigue whatever away from St. John's, and the habit of refusing all will soon exempt me from any applications."

On the morning of the 10th he arrived at Anstruther. "My mother," he writes to Mrs. Chalmers, "I think much altered. Age has imprinted its marks upon her far more strikingly and abundantly than I had before noticed. I bathed, dined, went to bed afterwards, and for the first time I ever recollect slept in broad daylight. This I think due to sea-bathing, which is an excellent soporific. I have written to Mr. John Graham, one of my elders, and have great pleasure in keeping up my intercourse in this way with St. John's. I have been reading more of Doddridge, and do indeed find myself a very alienated and undone creature. Let me cleave to Christ, and receive all my completeness from Him. Oh! make an active and honest work of your soul. May God help us to be thorough and consistent in this matter. Oh, may He unite our hearts more to Himself, and in the blood of Christ may we be cleansed and sanctified! Were there no atonement what might have been our dread and anxiety,—but now that there is an atonement, let not our dread and anxiety be just what they would have been without one. Take the comfort of this doctrine. Have full assurance of heart in the blood of the everlasting covenant. Have peace and joy in believing it."

" *Anstruther, August 11th.*—Yesterday night I wrote to Mr. Parker, and am using every influence to obtain my favourite arrangements for the parish of St. John's. * * * My mother and I sort famously. She loves solitude, and so do I. She is deafer than I ever recollect, but there is a simplicity in having only one deaf person to manage. It is when you have half a dozen to carry along with you that the matter becomes inextricable; and when, in addition to the passive obstacles of mere deafness, there is also the one obtruding and active annoyance of positive and constantly recurring misconception, then is it indeed a trial which in this small way is the heaviest I ever was exposed to.

" *August 12th.*—Am now, I trust, sleeping away my languor, and getting stout and well. I have been overdoing, and it is no rest from it to go into the midst of ceremony, and contending claims about visits, &c., &c. Fairley was no relief; Dunblane was none. Anster I like better than all our retreats, and Mr. Gordon [who had accompanied him from Edinburgh on this visit] is a great fill-up. The true enjoyment of solitude is in having one person as fond of it as yourself, and with whom you can occupy an unemployed hour just when you like and your business is over."

But while all was moving on so pleasantly at Anstruther, materials for discomfort were gathering elsewhere. On the very day of his leaving Edinburgh Dr. Andrew Thomson had formally proposed Dr. Chalmers as a candidate for the Natural Philosophy chair, stating in his letter of proposal that he had the best reasons for believing that if the choice of the Council should fall upon him he would accept. This announcement surprised and grieved many of Dr. Chalmers's friends. The report travelled rapidly to Glasgow, that with his own sanction a canvass had commenced on his behalf for the vacant chair His own letters were meanwhile coming in rapid succession from Anstruther, urging his friends to additional efforts on behalf of his projects for St. John's. Misconceptions naturally arose which the spirit of hostility framed into aspersions (apparently well-founded) upon Dr. Chalmers's motives. Meanwhile he was utterly unconscious of the public ferment which his fancied course of procedure was creating. It was not till Thursday the 19th that Dr. Chalmers was made aware, by a letter from Mrs. Chalmers, of the excitement which had arisen in Glasgow, and of the misrepresentations which were in circulation. The subjoined extracts from his Journal-letters will show the depth and acuteness of the feelings which this intelligence created :—

" *Friday 20th.*—For the first time since I came to Anstruther has my peace been a little broken in upon. If I do not get my arrangements it will become a serious question with me if I shall remain in St. John's ; certainly I ought not if there be an impression on the part of those among whom I labour of my having acted unworthily in this matter. The public at large I hope I care not for ; but if my own people, and especially my own agency, shall have their minds infected by the rumours which are now flying, there is either an entire end of my usefulness, or that usefulness may be easily made greater elsewhere. * * * You may show this to Mr. Collins, and, at the same time, let him and you both rest assured that if I can get my agency satisfied—and indeed convinced that it is they, and they alone, who have given such an attraction to the parish as led me to lay a stop upon the canvass in Edinburgh, if I can get this one object accomplished and my arrangements granted, I care not for all the interminable gossip-ings that may be now in full currency amongst you. I thought a good deal of the Glasgow groups last night, and as they stood in imagination before me, there was one half line of Burns that I could not get out of my head—'And some were busy bletherin'.' If Mr. Collins can report any alienation on the part of the agency about this matter, then it will be quite imperative upon me to vindicate myself to them; and I certainly do feel it hard that such a phrase as even that of vindication should be at all necessary to be resorted to by one who in the whole of this proceeding has evinced the strength of his determination for his own parish, provided that he is suffered to manage it in his own way. The thing which perplexes me more than anything else is my having no letter since I left Glasgow about the operations of the deaconship. If my own friends fail me, then I shall construe this into a very strong and distinct intimation indeed, though, if God be pleased to prolong the health of my body and the faculties of my mind, I will not despair of being more happily and more usefully employed in some other walk of exertion. * * * I have just had a letter from Mr. Mackenzie, giving me the intelligence of a unanimous decision of the Magistrates and Council in my favour. The only point now is the zeal, and cordiality, and sound-heartedness of the agency, and I trust that the vile, and malignant, and ignorant gossip of the place will have no influence upon them. The canvassers in Edinburgh began at the wrong end. If an explicit declaration was necessary for the prosecution of the canvass, it ought to have been held necessary for the commencement of it, and then there would have been none of this fuss and folly.

" *Sunday* 22*d.*—The keeping up of this mysterious silence on the part of Mr. Collins disturbs me greatly.

" *Monday* 23*d.*—Rose at seven. Wrote a letter to Mr. Collins, which, if he do not answer, there is a breaking up of my agency, and in this case I shall try and carry on the matter upon the strength of weavers, and the native population of the parish.

" *Wednesday* 25*th.*—It has happened that in all my attempts at peace away from Glasgow something connected with Glasgow has found me out in the deepest of my retirements, and broken up the attempt. It is so now with the intimation you gave me more than a week ago of Mr. Collins going to write disagreeable things, and his mysterious silence, leaving the imagination to brood over them as things of shape and magnitude unknown. I hope in time to sit down to a quiet and independent and easily managed concern. But it were better still to have no such hope, to look on crosses as the conditions of our pilgrimage, and to forbear regaling our fancies with any enjoyment beneath these skies, with any rest short of heaven My great and engrossing anxiety at present is, that my deaconship are in a state of entire heart and spirit for the functions which await them.

" 26*th.*—I write this to make you easy on the subject of the Professorship. I have found out the key to this mysterious silence now. I have only seen the Caledonian Mercury to-day, and I fear that these papers must draw me out once more. I showed all my documents to J. N. two days ago, and he is quite satisfied, and to J. D. yesterday, and he is equally so. Meanwhile, you will go in with my feelings when I say, that understanding as I do that there is a great deal of misunderstanding in Glasgow about this matter, I shall never set a foot in it till I make Glasgow as thoroughly ashamed of the precipitancy of its judgment against me, as I would be ashamed if I were conscious of possessing one fraction of that worthlessness which they so unkindly impute to me. I feel myself called and justified in coming forward with a written statement.

"*August 27th.*—I am only able to put down short-hand jottings, which I trust will do famously. I mean to entitle them, 'Remarks by Dr. Chalmers applicable to the outset of his connexion with St. John's Parish, Glasgow.' In this pamphlet I will interweave as much narrative as will fulfil the whole promise of yesterday. I know not how soon I may send some of the MS. I want my brother and Mr. Collins to be the sole publishers. It will form part of a series of papers which, if God spare me, I mean to publish from time to time, on the Civic and Christian Economy of our Large Towns. * * * I have received Mr. Collins's letter at last, with Mr. Nelson's, and Mr. Craig's, and Mr. Falconer's. I take their letters to be truly kind."

Mr. Collins had waited only till he could convey to Dr. Chalmers the united assurances of the most zealous and influential of his agency, that their attachment and confidence remained wholly unshaken, and that their only regret was that he should have suffered any apprehensions as to their fidelity to prey upon his spirits. Reassured in heart, Dr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow, his vindicatory narrative issuing from the press almost concurrently with his return. On Friday, September 24th, the first Number of the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns" was published. It opened with the following narrative:—

"I shall preface these remarks by the short and comprehensive statement of an affair which I know has painfully agitated the minds of many, and given birth to a very busy fermentation of rumours and calumnies in your city.

"I was in Edinburgh on the 8th of August last, and there received letters from two gentlemen of literary rank and estimation in that city, holding out to me a prospect of the Natural Philosophy Chair in Edinburgh, and urging me to take the matter into serious consideration.

" I had a conversation with the gentleman who delivered these letters to me on the subject of them. It is impossible to recollect all the particulars of that conversation. But I assuredly know what my mind and determination have uniformly been on this subject, and I could say nothing at variance with that determination. It may be expressed by the following short alternative :—that if I got my arrangements in the parish of St. John, I would not take the professorship ; but if I did not get these arrangements, I would think of it.

" I left Edinburgh early on the morning of the 9th ; and my proceedings from that day to the 12th will best evince what the practical impulse was which I received from these overtures. I had no correspondence with Edinburgh during that period, but was quite assiduous in my correspondence with Glasgow. The object of it was to achieve for myself the first term of the above alternative, or in other words, to hasten on the accomplishment of my favourite objects for the parish of St. John. It was to attain that condition on which I made my continuance in the one office, and my rejection of the other office to turn. I knew not what my friends in Edinburgh were doing ; for that was a matter on which I had given no counsel, and uttered no desire, and put forth no effort, and obtained no information. But whatever they were doing I was labouring with all my might to nullify their exertions ; and, in allusion to the shrewd remark which some of you may have heard, that I was working with both my hands, I have to observe, that there is a sense in which it is perfectly true ; for with the one hand I was pulling down the wall of separation between me and my parish, and out of its broken materials I with the other hand was rearing a barrier between me and the professorship.

" But while I in the prosecution of my wishes was working as hard as I could for the first term of the alternative, my friends in Edinburgh, it would appear, were in the prosecution of their wishes working as hard as they could to realize the hopes which were held out by the second term of it. This, gentlemen, is the short explanation of the whole mystery, and serves to unriddle all the crudity and contradiction on this topic, by which the minds of my acquaintance have been so variously exercised.

"On the evening of the 12th I received the first letter I had gotten from Edinburgh on this subject since I left it, requiring an explicit declaration of myself as a candidate. In my reply, I reiterated my adherence to the first term of the alternative, and stated, that 'I was doing all I could to induce a favourable arrangement of matters in Glasgow, and of course was counter-working with all my might my kind friends in Edinburgh.' This letter laid such a discouragement on the attempt of my friends to get me into Edinburgh, that they forthwith abandoned it.

"There are only two misstatements among the multitude of others which have been circulated on this subject that I feel at all disposed to single out on the present occasion. The first is, that I vacillated in my purposes. There was no vacillation. I took my ground from the first, and I all along acted upon it; and it was not my hesitation, but my steady and unfaltering adherence to the assigned object of *my own parish in my own way*, which in as far as I was concerned put an end to this affair.

"The second misstatement is, that these overtures had been made to me so early as a few days after the death of Professor Playfair. The author of this misstatement could not have taken a more effectual method of stamping the character of a well-sustained hypocrisy on my late visit of ten days to your city, from the 27th of July to the 7th of August—and that not merely in the eyes of my parochial agents, but in the eyes of our highest official men, among whom I was negotiating with all my might my favourite arrangements for the parish of St. John. The truth is, that the idea of filling the Natural Philosophy Chair of Edinburgh was never, in any shape or for a single moment, present to my mind before I left Glasgow on the 7th of August; and the propositions which were made on the 8th were the very first that were offered to me on the subject."

On Sabbath the 26th, two days after the explanatory pamphlet had appeared, the Church of St. John's was opened for public worship. The following account of the opening services is extracted from the *Glasgow Herald* :—" Dr. Andrew Thomson of Edinburgh, and Dr. Chalmers the minister of the parish, preached in presence of the Magistrates and a most crowded congregation. The first gentleman commenced the service of the day, and took for his text Hebrews iii. 12; Dr. Chalmers preached in the afternoon from Isaiah xxix. 9-12. In the evening the parochial sitters took their places, when Dr. Thomson again preached. From the intimations previously given, it was understood that the last of these services was meant for the exclusive benefit of the inhabitants of the parish, who are enabled by a wise and liberal arrangement on the part of the Magistrates and Council to obtain as good a right of occupation to the evening seats as is held by any other sitters among the day congregations of our city. * * * The decidedly parochial aspect of the evening congregation was scarcely if at all impaired by any great admixture of hearers from the general and indiscriminate public; and it was felt as a novel and affecting singularity to witness such a multitude of the labouring classes of our city so respectably provided with Sabbath accommodation in one of the churches of the Establishment. The impression was much heightened upon observing that the great body of the population, on retiring from church, when they had reached the bottom of Macfarlane Street, turned in nearly an unbroken stream to the east along the Gallowgate, or in the direction which leads to the main bulk of the parish and its inhabitants. * * * It gives us pleasure to observe that the hour of meeting for the evening sitters is so early as four in the afternoon, thereby giving to this parochial diet the character and convenience of a day service, and enabling the hearers to spend an unbroken Sabbath evening in the bosom of their own families."*

The recent decision of the Magistrates and Council, of which he had been informed before leaving Anstruther, was to the effect "that the minister and kirk-session of St. John's church and parish shall have the separate, independent, and exclusive management and distribution of the fund which may be raised by voluntary or charitable collections at the doors of the said church, for the relief of the poor resident in the said parish: but reserve for farther consideration the other matters noticed in Dr. Chalmers's letter, particularly the proposed application of the collections made at the church doors to any other purpose than the relief of the poor, and the enforcement of the law of residence as between the different parishes into which the city of Glasgow has been divided."† It was more difficult to persuade the General Session to relinquish its right of oversight or interference. At last, however, this final difficulty was removed. "I have been much turmoiled and agitated of late," Dr. Chalmers writes near the close of December, "by certain unhappy controversies about the management of my parish; but these I have now got over, and breathe a far freer and more peaceful atmosphere than I did at the outset of my connexion with my present charge."‡ The initial difficulties had formed in fact the chief difficulties of the problem. "It required," says Mr. Stow, "the mind and enthusiasm and urbanity and childlike generous feelings of a Chalmers to argue every point, to bear with the old fashioned prejudices and stubborn resistance to his schemes at every step. They could not but admire the man; but to knock on the head at once all their long experience by such a revolution was not to be tolerated. It was not enough for Dr. Chalmers to explain his views in the most graphic manner, when sage men believed them to be quite Utopian; he must prove that they will actually succeed, else they must not even be attempted." In this, as in so many after instances, he found it easier actually to do the work than to convince others that it was practicable. The close of the year, however, saw him clearly extricated from the different administrative bodies with which he had been implicated; and his own parish being now fully given up to him to work it in his own way, he turned with hopefulness of heart to that agency which his four years' ministry in Glasgow had been gradually forming, and which I cannot but regard as the noblest band of Christian laymen which has ever gathered around a Christian minister, or concentrated its energies upon the cultivation of a single parish.

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* *Glasgow Herald*, Monday, 27th September 1819.

† Extracted from the Records of Council.

‡ Letter to Mr. Wilberforce, dated 21st December 1819.

CHAPTER X.

DR. CHALMERS'S HEREDITARY ATTACHMENT TO THE OLD PAROCHIAL ECONOMY OF SCOTLAND—HIS MINISTRY IN GLASGOW EXCLUSIVELY PAROCHIAL—EXTENT AND CONDITION OF THE PARISH OF ST. JOHN'S—ITS EDUCATIONAL NECESSITIES—MODE ADOPTED FOR MEETING THESE NECESSITIES—ERECTION OF TWO SCHOOL-FABRICS, AND PARTIAL ENDOWMENT OF FOUR SCHOOLMASTERS—EDUCATIONAL FRUITS OF THE ST. JOHN'S MINISTRY—EXPLANATORY ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE MACFARLANE STREET SCHOOLS.

A STRONG feeling of attachment to the old parochial economy of Scotland was a hereditary sentiment with Dr. Chalmers. His father had carried it so far that, although the churches of Eastern and Western Anstruther stood but a few hundred yards apart, he did not go to hear his own son preach when his doing so would have carried him across the separating *burn* and away from his own parish church. The one dominant idea which Dr. Chalmers carried with him from Kilmany, and which ruled the efforts of a life-time, was that all those peculiar parochial means and influences which, among the peasantry of Scotland, had secured such an almost universal education of the young, and such an intellectual and moral elevation of the general community, could be employed, and would be equally efficacious amid the densest city population. On his settlement in Glasgow, he publicly announced that he considered himself to be set apart as the minister not of those who might choose to come to hear him in his church, but of those who resided within his parish. Throughout the whole period of his ministry his private attentions were devoted almost exclusively to his parishioners as distinguished from his congregation. He did not indeed refuse to attend the sick or dying among his hearers, but he never visited ministerially the families of those who had no other claim upon his attention than their sitting regularly in his church. He had been greatly hampered in carrying out his principles during the period of his Tron Church ministry, but now all checks and impediments were withdrawn. He had, it was true, five times as many people to deal with as could hopefully be entrusted to any one minister and kirk-session. According to a census taken by himself, the parish of St. John's, previous to Whitsunday 1819, contained a population of 10,304 souls. But this population did not come into his hands in the same condition in which a country parish of equal magnitude would be committed to the care of its clergyman. It had deeply degenerated, and needed to be reclaimed. Of the 2161 families of which it was composed, there were so many as 845 families who had no seats in any place of worship whatever ; and even that proportion gave no adequate idea of the extent to which church-going habits had been relinquished. The number of sitters in their own parish church scarcely amounted to a hundredth part of the whole population. And St. John's was not only one of the largest, it was the very poorest parish in the city. The numerical ratio which the household servants in it bore to the general population, an index of the condition of a community as to means, was about one to every thirty-three—in many districts it was so low as one to every fifty-seven. Weavers, labourers, factory-workers, and other operatives, made up the great bulk of the community. It was a large and onerous charge. Nevertheless, suffered now to manage it in his own way, Dr. Chalmers entered upon the task with all the elastic spirit of one emancipated from bondage, and all the hopeful confidence of one whose faith in the power of moral and spiritual influences, both human and divine, over the very worst of our species, was perhaps larger and stronger than that of any other man of his generation. The four years of his ministry in St. John's were among the busiest in a life over-crowded in every portion with activities; and if we include the after and the indirect as well as the immediate results accomplished by them, they formed four of the most productive of his years.

In St. John's as in the Tron Church parish, Dr. Chalmers's earliest efforts were directed towards the education of the young. His preparations were so far matured, that at the commencement of his operations he had a band of forty-one Sabbath-school teachers, whose number however he needed to double, ere according to his method of sub-division the whole space was sufficiently covered. But four years' experience had now taught him that more was required than to supply religious instruction to those who could already read. Among the poorest classes many children were growing up without any, and still more with a very imperfect and comparatively useless education. "There are many," said Dr. Chalmers, addressing a meeting of his own parishioners, "who have been two or three quarters at school, and have even got on as far as the Bible; but when I come to examine them, I am struck with their slovenly and imperfect mode of reading, obliged as they are to stop and to spell and to blunder on their way through every verse in such a manner as to make it palpable to those who hear them that it had been very little worse for them though they had never been at school at all. Now, be assured that those who cannot read with fluency and readiness to the satisfaction of others, cannot read with satisfaction, or any real understanding of what they do read, to themselves. They may go through the form of reading their Bibles, but I am sure that they do not understand them; and what is this to say, but that the Bible is still a sealed book to them—that they want the key by which it is to be opened." Much of the existing evil Dr. Chalmers attributed to a defect in the existing means and system of education. The schools of Glasgow at the period were divisible into two classes—endowed schools in which education was given gratis, and adventure schools in which the masters were supported wholly by the fees of their pupils. For the children of the middle and higher classes of society the second kind of schools supplied both in quantity and quality a good and sufficient education. But the labouring classes, if they did not succeed through patronage or perseverance in getting their children into those public schools where a gratuitous education was provided, had no alternative but to send them to one or other of those miserable schools which in garrets or by-rooms half-educated and ill-paid teachers had opened. The actual result was, that many parents kept their children at home, still hoping to get them into the free schools—that many were satisfied with the meagre instructions of teachers who themselves needed to be taught, and that not a few had lost the desire of providing their families with this first necessary of spiritual and intellectual life. Nor would it in Dr. Chalmers's apprehension have much mended the matter though, by one princely act of charity, the endowed schools had been so multiplied that there was standing room within their walls for all the children of the community, and a wholly gratuitous education provided for them. The education which parents pay nothing for they prize as of little value; while that which is made somewhat costly to them they are more ready to appreciate, and more anxious that it should be actually and sufficiently acquired. And as it serves to relax the care and diligence of parents—a system of entirely gratuitous education has an equal tendency to relax the care and diligence of teachers—removing that stimulus which operates when the fruits of their labour are proportioned to the effort and the abilities which they put forth. "The only way," said Dr. Chalmers in a pamphlet circulated at this period,* "of thoroughly incorporating the education of the young with the habit of families, is to make it form a part of the family expenditure, and thus to make the interest and the watchfulness and the jealousy of parents so many guarantees for the diligence of their children. And for these reasons do we hold the establishment of free schools in a country to be a frail and impolitic expedient for the object either of upholding a high tone of scholarship among our labouring classes or rendering the habit at all general, or perpetuating that habit from generation to generation." Between the two methods, of leaving a community to supply itself with education and of providing gratuitous instruction for all its families, there lay a middle course—that followed by the founders of the parochial schools of Scotland. Dividing the country into what were then considered as manageable districts, a school-house had been built in each, and a partial endowment provided for the teachers—their income from school-fees and fixed salaries when combined large enough to secure a highly respectable class of well qualified instructors, and yet the fixed portion of it not so great as to secure a competence—however ill they taught or however few their pupils. This mixed system had wrought well in country parishes. Dr. Chalmers resolved to adapt and apply it to the population of St. John's. On Monday, the 27th September—the day after the church had been opened—at a meeting of a few members of the congregation organized into an "Education Committee," it was resolved—"That there should, in the first instance, and as soon as possible, be raised by subscription a sum of money deemed adequate to the erection of one fabric, to include two schoolhouses and two teachers' houses, which, when completed, shall in all time thereafter be exclusively occupied for the use and benefit of the parish of St. John's." Dr. Chalmers headed the subscription by putting his name down for £100—five other gentlemen subscribing each a like sum—subscriptions of £50 and lesser sums promptly following. In the course of a week or two £1200 were raised. The site which appeared to be most suitable for the erection was in Macfarlane Street, and belonged to the College. Dr. Chalmers went to Principal Taylor to negotiate a purchase. In the hope of obtaining it on reasonable terms he urged at once the novelty and importance of the undertaking. The Principal acknowledged the importance but demurred as to the novelty. "We have been talking for twenty years," he said, "of establishing parochial schools in Glasgow." "Yes; but how many years more did you intend to talk about it? Now we are going to do the thing, not to talk about it; and so," said Dr. Chalmers, putting the Principal into good humour by some kindly saying, "you must even let the price be as moderate as possible, seeing we are going to take the labour of talking and projecting entirely off your hands." The application was successful—the ground was purchased—the building was commenced, and early in July 1820 was ready for occupation. The patronage, including the right of electing the masters, was vested in the original subscribers of £100, the minister of the parish, and the elders and deacons, who collectively had two votes for each body. Dr. Chalmers knowing how important was the choice of his first teachers did not trust to testimonials—private inquiries were instituted—the schools of the candidates when accessible were visited, and a day fixed for a comparative trial. On Thursday, the 10th June, he writes to Mrs. Chalmers, "Proceeded with Mr. Irving and Mr. Collins, our two examinators in the trial of our school candidates, to St.

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* The Pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the Advantage of Establishing them in Large Towns," was printed and privately circulated at the close of September 1819, and was published in February 1820. It will be found in *Works*, vol. xii. pp. 191-219.

John's vestry, at eleven o'clock; Mr. Montgomerie and Mr. Macgregor being there also as patrons. We had twelve to examine, and gave them tasks to do in the church, besides subjecting each of them to a very strict and careful examination. This work took us up till six o'clock, and we sent John out for wine and bread and a tea-kettle, and made negus for ourselves and the young gentlemen. Our choice has fallen on Mr. James Aitken for the English school, whom you do know, and Mr. Macgregor, for the commercial school, whom you do not know." Two teachers having been thus nominated, to each of whom a salary of £25, with a free house, was guaranteed, in order that the fees might be reduced to 2s. per quarter for reading, and 3s. per quarter for writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, &c., the schools were opened on the 16th July. The right of admission was restricted to parishioners of St. John's. "On the day of opening," says Mr. Aitken, "I was waited on by an old lady, who craved admission for a very interesting boy she held by the hand; but she resided in Gorbals, and the principle had been adopted and announced that none but the children of parishioners were admissible. 'But he is a good boy, and Dr. Chalmers will be sure to admit him if you tell him that he is my grandson and an orphan, and that his father was a minister.' I felt a strong desire to oblige the old lady, and engaged to submit the case to Dr. Chalmers. I did so at a meeting of St. John's agency held that evening in St. John's Church. His reply was, 'All very well, but you know how many extra-parochial applications have already been rejected, and by every additional refusal the urgency for more schools will just gain additional strength, so that in place of one school in St. John's, each parish will be forced into an erection of its own, and the whole city, and not Glasgow only, but every town and city in Scotland will be blessed with its parish schools.'"

It was soon apparent that for the educational demands of St.

John's parish alone the two schools thus opened were not sufficient. On the 7th August Dr. Chalmers, at a meeting of his Education Committee, stated that "the present schools, though only opened on the 18th of July last, (less than a month,) are already crowded to such excess that the teachers have been obliged to teach two day-classes instead of one, and that altogether the number of scholars accommodated far exceeded the powers of the teachers to do justice to, while many could not be admitted who had applied." In these circumstances, Dr. Chalmers proposed the erection of another fabric in the eastern district of the parish, trusting to the liberality of the congregation of St. John's in a matter of such importance to the best interests of the parishioners. The second appeal was forthwith made, and the liberality which was trusted to did not fail: about £1000 was speedily collected. The second fabric was raised. Two additional masters were nominated. Within two years from the commencement of his ministry four efficient teachers, each endowed to the extent of £25 per annum, were educating 419 scholars; and when he left Glasgow in 1823 other school buildings were in process of erection capable of accommodating 374 additional pupils; so that the fruit of four years' labour was the leaving behind him the means and facilities for giving at a very moderate rate a superior education to no less than 793 children out of a population of 10,000 souls.

And his care and influence reached much farther than the bare provision of school-houses and schoolmasters. He took the liveliest personal interest in all the operations which he had set agoing. "His visits to my school," says Mr. Aitken, "were almost daily, and of the most friendly description. In all states of weather and in every frame of mind he was there; depositing himself in the usual chair, his countenance relaxing into its wonted smile as he recognised the children of the working classes. Again and again, looking round upon them from his seat, his eye beaming with peculiar tenderness, he has exclaimed, ‘I cannot tell you how my heart warms to these barefooted children!’ One day, after sitting longer than usual, he left, saying, ‘I expected to meet Major Woodward and his lady here. Be sure, should they call, to tell them these are the children of our working classes, they form so striking a contrast to the sights they are accustomed to in Ireland.’ Sometimes he would enter the school buoyant and congratulatory, introducing the Bishop of ——, or Lord and Lady ——, developing to the visitors this or that other feature of his parochial system, and generally concluding with the request, ‘Now just let us hear one class read a portion before we go.’ I may add, that he never once interfered in the slightest degree in the management of the classes. In everything pertaining to the internal management of the school I was allowed to take my own method. * * * I might record several instances of his goodness and condescension as manifested in the many friendly visits he paid to my family. Early in the week following my appointment I received my first private call. One circumstance occurred during the visit which I still remember most vividly. One of my children had been presented with a pair of guinea-pigs. These had found their way into the apartment where we were sitting, and ran about in all directions. I could have wished to turn them out, but had not the power to rise from my chair. I could have seen them at Jericho. He soon observed them, followed them with his eye as they now retreated under his chair and again ventured out into his presence, he even changed the position of his feet to give them scope. That same kindly eye, one glance of which we all loved so much in after-life to catch, beamed only the more warmly as the creatures frisked in greater confidence around him. It was to me an omen for good. He who could enjoy thus the innocent gambols of these guinea-pigs could not fail to be accessible for good when occasion required. It was the first flush of that largeness of heart which afterwards appeared in all I ever heard him say or saw him do. In all his intercourse with his teachers he showed that he considered their labour in the class-room sufficiently harassing without any additional perplexities. His inquiries were frequent on every point on which our personal or family convenience depended. 'Does your house smoke? Is it not cold in consequence of its northern exposure? I fear that you will feel considerably cribbed and confined in it.' These, and many other considerate inquiries into our condition, made the service light and pleasant that otherwise might have seemed oppressive and intolerable. He seemed, of all men I ever was professionally connected with, best to understand that the teacher is not to be considered as a mere drudge—a beast of burden who may be treated as one pleases, well to-day and scurvily to-morrow, as the whim of his employers may dictate."

Before the first of the St. John's schools was opened Dr. Chalmers invited the parishioners to a meeting at which he delivered the following address:—

"The first thing I have to say of these schools is, that in no one sense of the term are they charity schools. I know that this misconception has gone abroad, and I take the earliest opportunity of correcting it. The education is not given—it is paid for. It is not given to a particular number, as in some schools, where so many poor scholars are admitted gratis, and marked out by this distinction from the rest of their playfellows. We are anxious to keep every distinction of this kind away from our establishment. Each scholar comes upon the same equal and independent footing. There is nothing to elevate one but his superior scholarship,—and this is an elevation which may be attained by the very poorest in attendance. There is nothing to degrade another but that he is left behind in the career of emulation,—and this is a degradation that the son of the richest parent may be consigned to. There will no other inequality be ever known within the walls of our institution, but such as arises from the diversity of talent and diligence and personal character. In every other respect it will be a little republic ; and we can assure the poorest parishioner who may send his children to these schools, that one of the most gratifying exhibitions to which we look forward in the course of our regular examinations by the minister and members of session and gentlemen who have reared this edifice for the instruction of the young, is to find that the son of his best affections is also the pupil of our first and foremost admiration, that he stands the most signalized by his masterly and scholarlike appearances, and that on the busy field of contest for preferment in places, and the approbation of respectable visitors, he has come out the victor in this honourable struggle with his fellows, and borne the palm of superiority away from them.

" The next thing I have to say of these schools is, that though the fees of attendance are very moderate, and though this be a circumstance of peculiar accommodation for the labouring classes of society, yet we do not want on that account the wealthier families of the parish to lie off from the benefits of the institution, and abstain from sending their children. We desire quite the reverse of this. We earnestly recommend these schools to the countenance of the higher classes in the parish ; and now that they are built and endowed all the countenance that we want of them is that they will simply send their children to be educated there, and that not on a higher fee because of their better circumstances, for this is a distinction to which we obstinately shut our eyes in this matter, but on the common fee that is paid by all, whether rich or poor, who may be in attendance. The great peculiarity of these schools is, that the education is so cheap as that the poor may pay, but at the same time it is so good as that the rich may receive. * * * And it is matter of sincere gratulation to many of us that while the education we have attempted to provide has been so brought down in its terms as to be accessible I trust to the very poorest among you, it is at the same time such education as the very wealthiest may prize, and of which we can assure them, that while it is calculated to raise the young of humble life to a higher reach of scholarship than they have yet perhaps been in the habit of attaining, it is also an education which would sit most gracefully on the minds and persons of their own children.

"We have met since we came to Glasgow with an occasional feeling of dread and of dislike on the part of the higher classes upon this subject, as if their children would be tainted by intercourse with the young of our common and operative population, as if their minds would be vitiated and their manners be vulgarized by breathing the atmosphere of the same room with them, as if it would break down the kind of distinction in classes which necessarily obtains in grown up society, and which ought, some think, to obtain also in the pursuits and exercises of boyhood. I have no hesitation whatever in saying, that receiving my first education in a country school where there was an indiscriminate mingling of the children of all ranks and degrees in society, this is a feeling which I cannot at all sympathize with. I speak to the experience of some who now hear me, who are not natives of the city, and receiving their early education at some parochial seminary in the country, were of course exposed to the admixture of all sorts of children. Are they at all sensible of having received any permanent infusion of vulgarity whatever by sharing in the same sports, or associating in the same exercises, or standing up in the same class with children of a station inferior to their own? Even though I had suffered some loss from such a cause there is one noble compensation that is gotten at such a school. It is well to learn there the lesson of respect for our common nature. It is well to have observed there that neither talent nor character are the prerogatives of rank alone. It is well to acquire there such friendships as will be retained in future life; and should it so happen of the two parties in such a friendship that one is covered with affluence and honour, while the other toils in humble poverty, it is exceedingly well that the prosperous and distinguished citizen should have to recognise on some future day in some obscure artizan the school-fellow of his now fading remembrance, with whom he strove for mastery in the class, and perhaps was overcome by him. I am sure that if his heart be in its right place there were a luxury of feeling here which he would not forego, nor could his bosom refuse its cordiality to the object of a remembrance so interesting, and through the individual for whom he experienced such an emotion of kindliness would he learn to bear a friendly and respectful homage to the whole class of society to which he belonged; and therefore it is, that so far from wishing the children of various ranks in the parish not to mingle at these schools, I want them to mingle as extensively as they may. Let vice and blackguardism, and every communication of evil, be guarded against with all a parent's vigilance and a parent's alarm ; but disdain not to associate your children in scholarship even with the humblest offspring of poverty. A far blander and better state of society will at length come out of such an arrangement. The ties of kindliness will be multiplied between the wealthy and the labouring classes of our city, the wide and melancholy gulf of suspicion between them will come at length to be filled up by the attentions of a soft and pleasing fellowship—and instead of rude encroachment on the one side, and the pride of a distant and disdainful jealousy on the other, will there be a community more humanized by the circulation of a mutual good will, and of which the extreme parties will be more mellowed into one as the intercourse of advanced life is thus softened by the touching remembrances of boyhood.

"It has been alleged that if the schools be as open and accessible to the children of the wealthy as to other children, and if the sound of an invitation so very general be sent abroad over all the families of the parish, there is danger of their being filled to excess, and of many who stand most in need of a cheap education being excluded by others who stand less in need and have got in before them, and thus of a pressure of application being brought down upon us greater than we can bear, and of a clamour for admittance being raised greater than we can satisfy, and of a crowd of expectants disappointed and excluded and put off whom we have no room for. Why, my brethren, to tell you the truth, this is just what we want. There are certainly some kinds of pressure that we are not very fond of, and some sorts of clamour which we know it were impossible by any expedient whatever to appease, and certain crowdings for admittance and relief which are quite interminable, and cannot possibly be managed to the satisfaction either of one party or another. But this does not apply to the present case. We hold it our duty to meet the whole demand of the whole parish for the kind of education that we have now proceeded a certain length in providing for you; and if the provision already made be not enough we hold it our duty to extend it; and should the present fabric be overcrowded and overrun, this we shall consider as an intimation to us for another fabric and other teachers. We see the end of the demand for good and cheap education, and we should like to overtake it. On this particular ground, therefore, I have no objection whatever to be surrounded and assailed with your most earnest and vehement importunities. It were music to my ears to hear your loudest and most urgent cries for this kind of schooling to your families, and I shall make it my business to echo the cry back again to a quarter where I am sure of the readiest and the kindliest and the most plentiful returns of generosity, to a quarter crowded with your best and sincerest and most enlightened friends; with a set of men the style of whose liberality is not yet perhaps completely understood, but who I am sure up to the light they have, are all on edge for the furtherance of your best and truest interests; men who would grudge a single shilling if they thought that it helped to make and to multiply paupers, but men who will not grudge a thousand of them when the object is to make and to multiply scholars; men who recognise in the very poorest of their brethren those high capacities which entitle them to a full and equal place on the general level of humanity, and would rejoice in admitting them to the brotherhood of all those privileges which belong to our common nature; men who know you to be their equals in all the grand and enduring attributes of our species, and long for nothing more than to see the gate thrown open by which all the children of all the population may find their way to an accomplished and respectable manhood in society upon earth, and instead of perishing as many of them do now for lack of knowledge, may, through the light of the Divine science that is unfolded in the Scripture, attain a place in that society of heaven, where the distinctions of rank and of fortune are all unknown;—these men will hail your demand for more education, nor will they rest till the parish to which they have devoted their philanthropy be as fully instated in all the means of respectable scholarship as any parish which our classical and lettered and intellectual Scotland has to boast of.

"But for what purpose, it may be asked, the above style of education for the labouring classes? Is it to help on their preferment in life, that from labourers they may be fitted for the business of higher situations in society? No! some of course will in the vicissitudes of human history attain such an eminence, and their learning will serve to grace and to guide them in the place they have reached. But most assuredly it is not that they may aspire after an elevated condition that I would have them all to be learned, but to bless and to dignify and to pour a moral and literary lustre over the condition they already occupy. Were all to aspire many would be disappointed; for be assured, that to the end of the world the men of opulence will be the few and the men of industry will compose the multitude. The structure of human society admits of no other arrangement; and whatever political convulsions may await us, through whatever stormy and adverse seasons of tumult and destruction and disturbance this land may have to pass, it cannot fail to settle down at last both in this and in every other nation into an economy of men of affluence who compose the minority, and men of labour and artizanship who compose the great majority of every commonwealth. And therefore, my brethren, my object in pouring the light of education through the mass would not be to kindle up a diseased ambition among you after the high places of society. This some of you by perseverance and industry and good fortune will attain. But to associate the object of general education with the excitement of a general ambition of this kind among the people were an attempt to divert the uncontrollable tendencies of human society. And what then is the object, it may be asked? It is not to turn an operative into a capitalist: it is to turn an ignorant operative into a learned operative, to stamp upon him the worth and the respectability of which I contend he is fully susceptible, though he rise not by a single inch above the sphere of life in which he now moves, to transform him into a reflective and accomplished individual—not to hoist, as it were, the great ponderous mass of society up into the air where it could have no foundation to support it, but supposing that mass to rest and be stationary on its present basis, to diffuse through it the light both of common and of Christian intelligence. I know that there has been a most severe and overwhelming pressure of late on the labouring classes, and that between sleep to recruit their exhausted nature and labour to subsist, there are many who for months together have not had a single hour of recreation, and that thus the privilege of reading to store their minds either with general or religious information, has by circumstances been withheld from them. But it is not to be always so. There will, I prophesy, if the world is to stand, there will be a great amelioration in the life of general humanity. The labouring classes are destined to attain a far more secure place of comfort and independence in the commonwealth than they have ever yet occupied, and this will come about not as the fruit of any victory gained on the arena of angry and discordant politics, but far more surely as the result of growing virtue and intelligence and worth among the labourers themselves. I trust the time is coming when humble life will be dignified both by leisure and by literature, when the work of the day will be succeeded by the reading and the improving conversations of the evening, when many a lettered sage as well as many an enlightened Christian will be met with even in the very lowest walks of society, when the elements of science and philanthropy and high scholarship will so ripen throughout the general mind of the country as to exalt it prodigiously above the level of its present character and acquirements.

" On that future day, which I pray may not be far distant —in that millennium of light and love, of which it is prophesied that many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased, there may just be as many mechanics, and as many labourers, and as many men of handicraft, as there are at this moment. And while zealous, therefore, for the growth of the cause of learning amongst them, it is not, we think, the object of this cause to stir up a restless appetite for being removed from one condition of earthliness to another condition of earthliness. That object is to refine alike and to dignify alike every condition of earthliness. It is to give us the comfortable feeling as we move through the swarms of population that issue from the manufactory and the workshop, that instead of a rude mass of ignorance and its companion profligacy, we are in fact passing through a most respectable assemblage of human worth and human accomplishment. This has been verified in many individual instances, and did we only do what we ought, it will be verified throughout the whole mass in the course of another generation. A most delightful eminence of mental cultivation has been attained by the ploughmen of a country parish and by the mechanics of a city parish. It is clear as day to all who have been much in contact with those classes of society, that there are among them the full capabilities for thus adorning their own condition with all the graces of cultured and well-taught humanity. And I repeat it, the main object of pouring a more copious and rich supply of education amongst them is not to furnish them with the means of abandoning their status, but to furnish them with the means of morally and intellectually exalting it. It is not to raise them on the artificial scale of life, but to raise them on that far nobler scale which has respect to the virtues of mind and the prospects of immortality. It is to confer a truer dignity upon each than if the crown of an earthly potentate were bestowed upon him. It is to pour the stores of knowledge into his understanding, and more especially of that sacred knowledge by the possession of which he becomes rich in faith and heir of that kingdom which God hath prepared for those who love Him."*

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* From an unpublished Manuscript.

CHAPTER XI.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. WILBERFORCE DURING THE WINTER 1819-20—DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE OF GLASGOW DURING THE PERIOD OF THE RADICAL RIOTS—SUGGESTIONS BY DR. CHALMERS AS TO POLITICAL MEASURES FOR AMELIORATING THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE—INFLUENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT.

From 1808 to 1813 the harvests in this country were deficient. During four of these years the political state of the Continent virtually prohibited any foreign supply of grain. The result of this was a rise in the price of wheat from seventy-five shillings per quarter, the average price for the six years from 1802 to 1807, to one hundred and eight shillings, the average price for the six succeeding years. This rise in value being proportionally much greater than the defect in produce, the cultivation of land became so much more profitable. It was apparently a period of great agricultural prosperity. Whenever it was brought into the market, land was eagerly purchased at advanced prices; rents in many instances were doubled; cultivation was forced beyond its proper limits, to the exhaustion in some instances of productive soils, while lands were brought under the plough the tillage of which, at slightly lower prices, could not be remunerative. The crop of 1813, so large as to leave a surplus for two years, effected a sudden reduction in the price of grain. The Peace soon followed, opening the Continental markets. Landlords and tenants were in despair. In the spring of 1815, the price of wheat had fallen from one hundred and eight shillings to sixty shillings per quarter. If it rose to sixty-six shillings, according to the existing corn-law, British ports would be opened for the admission of foreign grain. The demand for additional protection to the agricultural interest became so urgent that a Bill was hurried through the House of Commons fixing eighty shillings per quarter as the point at which importation should commence.

Throughout the war, and even under the severe prohibitory commercial policy of Bonaparte, British goods had in large quantities found their way into the Continental markets. The natural impression in this country was, that when peace brought that policy to an end, the Continental demand would experience a large increase; and the first results seemed to verify this impression. Our exports in 1814 were double those of the preceding year; and although the increase was not relatively so great, the exports in 1815 exceeded in value those of 1814 by about seven millions pounds sterling. The alluring prospect led the British merchant astray. He forgot that the resources of the Continent were necessarily limited, and had been drained by war. The overtrading into which he plunged bore its accustomed fruits. The Continental markets were glutted: English goods were selling in them at lower prices than in this country. Heavy losses and frequent bankruptcies ensued. The pressure fell at last, and most heavily, upon the working classes. Multitudes were thrown out of employment at the very time that the reduction of our military establishment had thrown a large number of additional hands into the labour market. To aggravate the evil, the price of bread began again to rise. The autumn months of 1815 and the spring months of 1816 were most ungenial. The crop of 1816 turned out one of the worst which had been for many years. In the course of twelve months wheat rose to double its former value; and in 1817 and 1818 the war and famine prices were once more reached. There was no class of operatives upon which the pressure of the times fell more heavily than upon the hand-loom weavers. In the end of August 1819 Mr. Cleland made a survey of Glasgow and its neighbourhood. Taking a radius of about five miles from the centre of the city, excluding Paisley, but including all the suburbs and many populous villages beyond them, he found within the circle now specified 18,537 looms, of which 13,281 were working, and 5,256 were unemployed. The results of this and of other surveys and investigations Mr. Cleland embodied in a publication entitled "The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow," &c. Seizing upon the leisure which a fortnight's visit to Kirkaldy in January 1820 afforded to him, Dr. Chalmers undertook to review this work in "The Edinburgh Review." Confining his attention exclusively to the capital fact stated above as ascertained by Mr. Cleland, he devoted his paper to an inquiry into the causes and remedies of those evils under which the manufacturing population was at this period labouring. Many of the leading ideas unfolded in this review will be found in the following series of letters addressed to Mr. Wilberforce :—

"GLASGOW, 15*th December* 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I should have answered your last kind communications long ago. I have been most thoroughly engrossed with professional work, but feel myself urged at present to write you on the subject of our affairs in this city. The population are overawed for the present by the large military force in town. But you know that this is not the most pleasant, neither is it the most permanent means of tranquillity. It were greatly more desirable to sweeten the spirits of the disaffected than to subdue them; and while I approve very much of certain minor expedients for this object—such as the repeal of the cottage tax, and of the taxes on the first necessaries of life to be commuted into an income tax upon the wealthier classes—yet, from my extensive minglings with the people, I am quite confident in affirming the power of another expedient to be such that it would operate with all the quickness and effect of a charm in lulling their agitated spirits. I mean the repeal of the Corn Bill. I have ever been in the habit of disliking the interference of the Legislature in matters of trade, saving for the purpose of a revenue. The interference in question is perhaps of all others the one by which Government has incurred the greatest waste of popularity with the least return of advantage to the country; nor could they take a readier step than by recalling this measure to soothe the manufacturing districts of the country.

"There is, I have often thought, a native vigour in the elements of a nation's prosperity, in virtue of which they survive all the fears and forebodings of our economical reasoners; and I am quite sure that the more our Government approximates to nature and justice and liberty in her commercial regulations, the nearer will the country be to the best possible adjustment of all the various interests which abound in it. You are quite familiar with the bugbears of political imagination on the matters of trade, and how effectually time and experience came to dissipate them at length. What else was it than a bugbear which arrested for years the abolition of the slave trade? and did ever commerce rise more triumphantly above all the fancied mischiefs which were to flow from this measure than she did upon that occasion? It is an equally groundless chimera that the landed interest will sensibly suffer from the repeal of the Corn Bill. It will bring no mischief upon the country, and do more than Government can by all her other devices accomplish towards the object of recalling our people to loyalty and quietness.

"On this subject I have only to add, that had such a measure been proposed a week ago in Parliament it might have been resisted as carrying in it the appearance of an extorted concession. But now that the menacing attitude of the Radicals has been so effectually reduced it would not compromise the dignity of Government to confer upon them this most soothing of all gratifications. It were more like the act of a conqueror extending a deed of clemency to the vanquished than the compliance of a degraded sovereign with the high demands of his rebellious subjects; and be assured, that by no single measure, or no number of measures that can be specified, could Government hold out, with a greater prospect of a welcome and responding movement on the part of the country, the olive branch of reconciliation.

"I can take up no more of your much occupied time at present. I mean to write you soon on a topic about which you put me a question—that is, the state of religion in this quarter. I shall be at all times happy to meet any inquiries upon any subject relative to this neighbourhood in which you may be interested. At the same time, however much I feel myself honoured by an epistle from your own hand, I beg, for your own ease—which it is the duty of all your friends to consult to the uttermost—when it is more convenient for you, to send your communication by any amanuensis whom you may choose to employ.

"Mrs. Chalmers desires her most respectful compliments to you, and I beg mine to Mrs. Wilberforce.

"I cannot adequately express the tenderness and veneration that I feel for one who has done so much under God for the best of causes.—Believe me, my dear Sir, yours with the utmost love and esteem, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *December* 21*st*, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Maxwell, to whom you refer, is not, I believe, of my opinion with regard to the Corn Bill, but I believe that he is equally hostile with myself to the maintenance of the poor by assessments ; and if there can be one form in which assessments are more hurtful to the interests of the lower orders than another, it is when the produce of them is administered to meet the defect either of work or of wages. The sure and almost instantaneous result of such a measure is a further reduction in the wages. And it is this which lays Scottish industry under such a disadvantage. English industry is in many instances upheld partly by a proper remuneration in the shape of wages, and partly out of the poor-rate. The Scottish operative suffers all the disadvantage of the reduction which your system has produced in the nominal price of labour without the compensation ; and I can assure you, that of all parliamentary measures I know none that would more effectually relieve our working classes of this heavy disadvantage than the enactment by which you should restrict your poor's-rate to the relief of that *want alone* which arises from inability to work, and not to that want which arises from the work being inadequately paid for. This would instantly raise the nominal price of labour, and so bring our operatives on a par with those of your country.

" Do not, I beseech you, grant us the equalization we need by extending any part of your poor's system of management to us ; but as an act of justice to us, expunge that part of your system which provides out of a legal and compulsory fund for a defect of work or of wages. This, by the way, would prove a good first step towards the gradual abolition of your poor-laws altogether. It is a sound principle in political economy, that what you give to labour out of a legal provision you take away from it in the shape of wages, and when you withhold the former ingredient from the remuneration, the other ingredient expands to a magnitude equal to the sum of both. This is beautifully illustrated on a small scale by Mr. Vivian in his examination before the House of Commons' Committee, the Report of which was ordered to be printed July 4, 1817.

"But the urgent matter is *present relief*. You will of course perceive that it would place me in an invidious light were I to say that a pecuniary grant by Parliament for the purpose of direct distribution among the poor is not advisable. It would expose me to the outcry of many. It is, however, my firm conviction that this is really not the kind of application which would do so much good as a loan to be laid out on spade labour, and by which the operatives would be drawn away from their looms, and through the production of the article being lessened, a better price will come round for their work, and matters be restored to a fair average. Money to supplement defective wages in any line of industry has not the salutary effect that money has which is employed to draw away workmen from that line of industry. The temptation to the former instead of the latter is that it appears to require a less sum to make good a difference than to render full wages for the new kind of labour that is devised as a substitute for the weaving. But the truth is, that could a small fractional part of our weavers be taken up in this way, it were a mighty relief to us; and what I would earnestly advise is that Government should comply to as great an extent as it can with the various proposals which are before it from this quarter on the subject of advances of money whether by loan or by grant for employing so many of our weavers at another occupation. One mighty advantage would be that it would transfer so many of them permanently to another line and habit of industry altogether, and thus take away that excess of labour which is now given to the preparation of an article for which I fear there is now a permanent reduction in the demand.

"There is this peculiarity in weaving, it is easily acquired, and can be done by women and boys; hence a vast overplus of work in times of general depression. I trust the day is coming when, like strawplatting and tambouring, it will sink down into a female employment as too cheap a branch of industry for men to be engaged with.

"I never upon any occasion represented the distresses of the people here to be such as called for any other measures than those which I now recommend. I think that there ought to be, and I trust that there is, a very great exertion making through the channels of private kindness. I should like to see the whole of almsgiving reduced to the scriptural principle of secrecy. I do think that the obtrusive hand of public charity serves to arrest sympathy, and to freeze a far more copious fountain of liberality than it opens; and sorry should I be if individual compassion, flowing in unseen but innumerable rills, did not discharge a far greater amount of relief on the unfortunate than even Government itself could afford to bestow.

"I repeat my very great desire for what I deem the best expedient in our present difficulties—a sum to draw away labourers from the loom to other employments. We have a few stocking weavers as well as common weavers; it were well if they too were provided for in this way. They are as ill off as the others; and this by the way is due, I have heard, to the extreme liberality of the poor's-rate at Nottingham, which deducts from the wages as much as it affords of legal provision, and exposes the Scotch operatives to a proportional disadvantage.

"Believe me to be, with most respectful compliments to Mrs. Wilberforce, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"I kept this letter one day, that I might converse with one of the most intelligent of our public men on the subject of it. He agrees with myself in thinking that the suitable remedy is for Government to grant the aid in loan that was requested some time ago.

"I cannot close this without reiterating the expression of the very fervent and unabated regard that I have all along entertained for you. I beseech you to spare yourself all fatigue in the work of correspondence. I trust that my School pamphlet has reached you. For once I should like to trouble you with my urgency by requesting as favourable an opinion of the system in writing as you feel yourself entitled to give. I refuse all extra-parochial money for the object, as I want to exhibit a parish in a state of complete provision for schooling upon its own capabilities. Yours very affectionately,

Thomas Chalmers."

"Glasgow, *December* 23*d*, 1819.

"My Dear Sir,—It just occurs to me to say, that what ought to be advanced as the peculiar claim of the Scottish operatives on relief from Parliament is the peculiar disadvantage under which the English system of poor-laws has laid them, by the depreciation which it has effected on the nominal price of labour. Better surely that compensation were rendered to them in the shape of a loan for giving them employment, which is only an occasional boon, and required in times of particular depression, than that there should be any attempt to assimilate what is pure to what is corrupt, by an extension of a debasing and deteriorating system to a part of the country that is yet uncontaminated. I have the utmost confidence, I assure you, after we have weathered a few months, in the certainty of our proving that a manufacturing population can be sustained without any legal or compulsory provision whatever. Keep our part of the country free from poor-rates, and we shall remain a palpable argument on the side of a reformation which you stand so pressingly in need of. Give way to the present emergency, and at once establish the principle among us, and you set a conclusive seal upon a system which all your enlightened men would rejoice in seeing that it was mitigated if not entirely abolished.

"I have had much conversation in the course of this day upon the subject, and the general desire is for such a measure as would draw away our operatives from their looms, and not any such as would fix them to that employment and merely supplement the defective wages they receive for it. By the former expedient you will soon clear away a mischief which consists in an overstock of manufactured goods. By the latter expedient you aliment and perpetuate the very evil which it is proposed to do away."

"Glasgow, *January* 22*d*, 1820.

"My Dear Sir,—Perhaps I should delay answering your last till the decided revival of our trade, which would enable me to speak more fully as to the whole progress of that visitation which seems to have excited so much notice and commiseration at a distance. There are the incipient symptoms of such a revival; and I confidently expect that our population will be conducted to a state of average comfort without even the advantage of the last loan awarded to our city by Government. The truth is, that our city has not yet been able to avail itself of this accommodation from certain difficulties attendant on the purchase of ground, so that I trust the truth of a favourite doctrine will in this instance be realized, that even through the darkest vicissitudes either of a town or a nation's fortune, the daily bread of all its inhabitants may be assured to it by the hand of private sympathy, and out of the capabilities which actually exist within its limits. I must confess that I took alarm at the parliamentary notice that was taken of our situation, fearful as I was that it would beget a delusive confidence on the part of the givers here, as if something so effectual were to be done as to supersede their responsibility for the sufferings of their poorer brethren; and further, fearful lest the receivers should feel themselves relieved from those shifts and exertions which are always sure to be made when the show of a great public interference in their behalf is withheld from them. I deprecate the interference of Parliament in these cases in any other way than the one way of simply aiding the provision of work, and of such work as might withdraw labourers from an overdone branch of employment. I am glad that the 'Christian Observer' has come forth with such a series of wise and enlightened observations upon this subject.

"The infidelity of this neighbourhood has been much overrated. There is a fearful majority of practical ungodliness amongst us, as there is everywhere, and I believe some few hundred, even of the labouring classes, who avow Deism or Atheism; but I think I am quite sure that the irreligion of the Radicals did much at length to neutralize their political influence amongst our people. The whole spirit of Radicalism is, I think, fast subsiding amongst us, and the tone of the public feeling is now that of tranquillity and confidence.

"Whatever our difference of opinion may be about the Corn Bill—which I consider as just another example of that busy and unwise intermeddling which is too characteristic of all Legislatures—I have to entreat that you will not lose sight of the measure of restricting your poor-rates to the poverty that springs from the inability of working alone. This would equalize the Scotch and English operatives. It is all that we want for keeping ourselves untainted by this baneful system altogether, and would, I think, form amongst you a good first step of a gradual process for its ultimate and entire abolition.

"It were well if amid the engrossments of public matters we could keep our hearts at liberty for the influences of God's

Holy Spirit. How possible is it, alas! to be busied even among Christian doings, and yet to be abandoned by the life and unction of Christianity altogether! And yet the two are compatible; and who exemplified it better than the Apostle Paul, whose conversation was in heaven, while he sustained a busy and diligent and ever doing converse both with the men and the things of this lower world.

"With most respectful and kind regards to Mrs. Wilberforce, and Mrs. Chalmers's best remembrances to yourself, I beg you to believe me, my dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"I have got £900 raised for my education fabric, and will begin to it immediately. I got several offers of foreign aid, but rejected them all. I am confident that a complete apparatus of scholarship might be raised all over the country did each satisfy himself with the cultivation of his own local portion of the great territory. Your kind letter has been of the greatest use to me."

"GLASGOW, *March* 22*d*, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I suffered an unfinished letter to lie a long while beside me, when I was called upon last Saturday by two men going to London on the business of our Emigration Societies here.* I took the liberty of reading that letter to them, along with another, of which I made them the bearers, to Mr. Finlay. They go without any advice from me, and in virtue of a resolution by their own constituents. I trust you will excuse the liberty that I have taken. I am sure that I am exceedingly averse to give you any trouble. But however fruitless their mission may be as to the business object of it, I am quite satisfied that nothing would tend more to tranquillize the public feeling than a little more of personal intercourse between the various orders of society ; and I am sure that from the interview even of a very few minutes with yourself, they will bring down a good and a sweetening influence along with them.

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* See Appendix K.

" The matter seems to be thus :—Some months ago in Glasgow there was a very general desire on the part of our labouring classes to seek relief in emigration. For this purpose meetings were called, which generally terminated in the factious expression of political discontent, to the great annoyance of a certain number among them who were honestly bent upon this object, and have prosecuted it with such steadiness and perseverance as at length to have obtained a grant of land and other advantages from Government,—leaving however the means of conveyance across the Atlantic to be provided for in another quarter. Of course the men have been elevated by all this to a very high degree of buoyancy, and are now I fear on the eve of a very sore mortification, unless our Glasgow public can be stimulated to a handsome subscription for the object of providing them with a passage to Canada. I do not see altogether the use of the London expedition ; but even if it should satisfy the people that their main dependence for getting what they want must be on the public at home—and still more if it should draw out either from yourself or Mr. Finlay such expressions as may stimulate the people here to make an effort for completing what Government has so kindly and liberally begun—it will not have been in vain.

" It had been infinitely better that Government had made no advances upon this subject, than that such a distressing failure of hope and such an accession of discontent should come out of it. The grant is only for a definite number, you will observe ; and the expense of conveying the whole is, according to my rate of estimation, far from beyond the capabilities of Glasgow. It is not my opinion that it can have any great effect, economically speaking, on the state of matters here. It will leave a very small vacancy behind it, and a single week of such importations as we have often had from Ireland would fill it up again. It is this which makes me regret that Government should ever encumber itself with trade or pauperism, or interfere in any way with the economics of the country, save for the purpose of a revenue to itself. But as it has interfered, and brought on so many of our families to a ground of hope and of dependence, I shall regret that it shall reap as the fruit of its own doings, founded though they have been in a real desire to promote the welfare of our community, the suspicion and discontent of men who have kept so steadily aloof from the turbulence of the times.—Believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Distress had engendered political discontent. The materials for agitation were abundant, and in too tempting a condition for the demagogue. The demand for Parliamentary reform, which so long as it confined itself to a moderate extension of the representation, had found supporters among all classes of the community, was among the lower orders changed into a fiercer cry for universal suffrage and annual parliaments. The very name of Reformer was rejected, and that of Radical adopted in its stead. The disastrous results of the Manchester meeting in August 1819 stimulated the general irritation. At a large assemblage convened soon afterwards in the Glasgow Green, the leading speakers appeared dressed with weepers, as if in mourning for those whom the swords of the Manchester yeomanry had cut down. Secret Societies were extensively organized. Threats of rebellion began openly to be uttered. The 13th of December, announced as a holiday from labour, was anticipated in Glasgow with the greatest apprehension. It passed, however, peaceably—all tendency to riot being suppressed by the admirable dispositions made by the public authorities. For a month or two the alarm subsided, to break out, however, in March 1820 in greater force than ever. Rumours of pikes manufactured in large quantities, of midnight drillings, and of days fixed for the great rebellion breaking out, were rife throughout the city. At last the worst fears of the most terrified seemed about to be realized. On the morning of Sabbath the 2d April printed proclamations were to be seen posted on the walls, commanding an immediate and entire cessation from labour, and summoning the people to open insurrection, "Signed by order of the Committee of Organization for forming a Provisional Government." The consternation felt that forenoon in Glasgow was intense. The authorities immediately assembled. The civic troops,—the Glasgow yeomanry and sharpshooters,—got orders to be ready at a moment's warning. The military were on the alert; hussars dashing through the streets, posting pickets on the various roads leading into the town. It was understood that the signal for commencing the rebellion in Glasgow was to be the stoppage by the Radicals of England of the London mail, which then generally reached Glasgow about five o'clock in the morning. Three gentlemen of the Glasgow yeomanry rode out to Hamilton (a distance of ten miles) on Sunday night, that in case the mail did not arrive there at the usual hour information of the event might be carried as quickly as possible to Glasgow. At half-past four o'clock, on Monday morning, all the troops, civic and regular, were at their appointed rendezvous, and under arms. The three volunteers, however, appeared ere long, bringing the tidings that the mail had reached Hamilton at the usual hour, and that in England all was quiet. But the alarm was not to be so speedily dissipated. On Monday it was evident that the treasonable proclamation in one part of its summons had been obeyed. Voluntarily, or through intimidation, the public works were deserted. For many miles around Glasgow the whole working population ceased from labour. Crowds poured along the various roads, and bands of idlers, with sullen and scowling visages, filled the streets. The authorities were informed that Wednesday had been fixed as the day upon which the Radicals from all the adjoining districts were to march into and take possession of the town. Throughout the whole of that night all the available troops were under arms. The firm spirit of the inhabitants, the resolute attitude of the authorities, and the strong military force, struck terror into the half-armed and ill-guided multitude, and without any bloodshed the outbreak was repressed. Next day brought tidings of the skirmish at Bonnymuir, near Stirling, in which the only band of Radicals that faced the troops was scattered in a few moments, nineteen having been taken prisoners on the field. Betrayed, as they imagined, by their friends in England, and awake to the folly of their schemes, the resolution of the Radicals melted speedily away—a better spirit soon returned among the working population, and in a week or two all terror of a Radical insurrection had passed away.

On the 18th April Dr. Chalmers resumes his correspondence with Mr. Wilberforce :—" My Dear Sir,—As far as I know of our disaffections in this city, I would say that there are perhaps not half a dozen instances of people befriending Radicalism who are possessed of more than £200 a year. Its most active instigators appear to be the well-paid workmen of cotton-mills and other manufactories where there has been little or no decline of wages, though the depression that obtains in the weaving department gives them without doubt the advantage of such materials as encourage them greatly to prosecute the designs of agitators. I ought also to have mentioned that among the weavers themselves, who, speaking generally, are a highly intelligent order of men, there are not a few who act as delegates and leaders to the rest, and are well qualified for the whole business of counsel and committeeship. Of these there are certainly some who have acquired their taste and their talent for public management, I think, from the circumstance of being the members of a dissenting congregation, and thus offer the melancholy combination of a fierce restless and dangerous politics, with a regular and respectable habit of attendance upon the ordinances. But still this is so far from being generally the case, that the aspect here of Radicalism upon the whole is just what it is with you, an aspect of infidelity and irreligion, the great majority of the men of ascendency among them being of this stamp, and verily all, I believe, who have stated their determination to the extent of actual war and bloodshed, having just as little of the profession of Christianity as they have of the substance of it.

" This is so palpably the case, that I believe the general public, undiscerning as they are upon this subject in the main, have the well-founded impression, in the present instance, that religion and Radicalism are utterly at antipodes with each other; so that we have little, I trust, to fear from any wrong association in the public mind upon this topic. And here I ought to say, that though Dissenterism has often the effect of engendering a political taste and tendency among those who are connected with it, yet our dissenting ministers here have nobly acquitted themselves on the present occasion. I know an instance in which a member of the Methodist Churches was excommunicated for his attendance on the Union Societies. Mr. Ewing, our Independent minister, has both preached and published in the strongest terms against the political spirit of the times; and, on the whole, Glasgow is just all the less Radical than it would have been by every congregation of Christian worshippers, whether in the Establishment or out of it, that is within its limits.

" It is awkward for a man to refer to his own works, but I think that No. 3 of my periodical publication, which was out before our recent explosion, explains why Glasgow should be so Radical in spite of its supposed numerous attenders upon Christian worship. The truth is, that after all they form a woful minority of our whole population, and nothing but the multiplication of our Established Churches, with the subdivision of parishes, and the allocation of each parish to its own church, together with a pure and popular exercise of the right of patronage, will ever bring us back again to a sound and wholesome state of the body politic. I shall resume this, if God will, in a day or two.—I am, my dear Sir, yours very affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

" GLASGOW, *April 25th*, 1820.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I should have mentioned in my last that the irreligious spirit of the rioters in Glasgow was strongly evinced by their breaking the windows of two of our Established clergy; but as it is our misfortune to be implicated with the pauperism and civil business of the place, this, perhaps, is not so unequivocal an expression as the fact of their having broken the windows of one of the Methodist chapels. You will, of course, have seen the circular sent by the Methodist Committee in London to all their ministers, dated the 12th November last, and which serves not merely to vindicate that body, but Evangelical Christianity at large, from the suspicion of being at all favourable to political turbulence. The alleged ground of complaint is political. As I wrote before, there is an exceeding degree of odium and unpopularity attached to the Corn Bill. They share in feeling here with the English Radicals on the common topics of reform, annual parliaments, &c. I have little doubt, however, that were the circumstances of the people amended their discontents would very quickly subside. As to the prevalence of the discontent, I would say of the vast majority of the labouring population, perhaps five-sixths of them, that they are passive—would rather be quit of all the disturbance and alarm that we have been exposed to, though, at the same time, they would acquiesce so far with the Radicals as to offer no positive opposition to any new order of things which they might have instituted. But this is no argument for a feeling of security, as I should suppose that in all revolutions the agents in the business, whether by counsel or war, are by much the minority of the whole population. The truth is, that turbulence and discontent are far more active and stirring and ostensible than are the opposite qualities; so that a minority with these will, to the general eye, outnumber the majority without these, and thus it is that the imagination of the multitude may be held in bondage by comparatively few from among themselves; and this may be enough for the purpose of giving effect to the schemes and operations of a disaffected minority. I have considerable intercourse with the families of my own parish, consisting of upwards of 10,000 people, and though chiefly among the poor, I am quite sure that there was as honest a terror, and as sincere an aversion to public disturbance among them as among the families of the rich. But this terror laid them open to the influence of the agitators, who compelled almost the whole of them to strike work. On that occasion I am convinced that the intimidators did not form more than a tenth part of the intimidated.

"I quite agree with you as to education. No system of coercion can prevent demagogues from obtaining it; and a few of them are far more formidable when operating on the soil of general ignorance among the population. The true way of disarming them of their influence is to educate the people up to them. And it is all in confirmation of this that our cotton-spinners, with good wages, were greatly more disaffected and mischievous than our weavers with bad wages. There is less of scholarship among the former than the latter, for a reason which you will easily perceive. They go early to cotton-mills, and have no command of their own hours afterwards. Weavers have that command, and there is a better rate of education among them than the others. At the same time, Glasgow is not a fair specimen of Scotland. My own observations have convinced me that there is a great decline of scholarship here; and I should liken our general population more to that of an English town than any other Scottish population I am acquainted with. I am not aware of the proportion that the Irish disaffected bear to the Scotch, but from the apprehensions that have taken place, I should regard it as greatly beyond the proportion of their numbers in this place.

"The most tranquillizing measure that Parliament could adopt would be the abolition of the Corn Bill. The next would be the repeal of the cottage tax, and such other taxes as bear hard on the necessaries of life. Let the deficiency be made up by an income-tax. I trust there will be no bankruptcy, however partial. *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.* I trust that faith will be kept with our national creditors. So long as the upper and middling classes have such a command over business we have not yet attained to the limit of our resources. A five per cent. income-tax would enable Government to make a number of popular, and I may add moral commutations, covering I should suppose the whole loss incurred by the cottage, salt, and butter tax, and by the abolition of the lottery.

"I yesterday saw one of our sheriffs for the populous county of Renfrew, and he assures me, that in the cases which come before him for ordinary crime among the young he notices a very sensible decline of education. It will really not be fair to argue against education from the case of Glasgow, which has receded very widely of late from the general condition of

Scotland in respect of scholarship.—Believe me, my dear Sir, yours most truly, Thomas Chalmers."

"Glasgow, *May 2d*, 1820.

"My Dear Sir,—I should have mentioned in my last, that the shawl manufactory recently introduced into Paisley requires a great number of boys, whose business it is to draw such pulleys as the working of the pattern may require, and are therefore called draw-boys. They amount to upwards of 2000 it would appear, and going to this business very young they are almost universally without reading. It is thus that the young men are very widely contrasted with the old in that town, who are indeed among the most intelligent and best educated operatives in the kingdom. But be assured that it is not the knowledge of our people, but their growing ignorance which has opened a wide and effectual door for all the Radicalism that exists among them.

"I feel that I have been guilty of some omissions as to a few former topics of our correspondence. I have not had the satisfaction of seeing your work on education, nor do I recollect anything more at present respecting the Baptist communications on this subject from India, with the exception of a very enlightened memoir about schools.

"I have been called upon by two members of our Emigration Societies. If anything could be done for them in the way of guiding them to information I would feel myself very much obliged.

"They have called upon me in the instant, and I must come to a close, only observing that the men have been buoyed up to a high state of expectation, and that if they are frustrated it will really turn what might have been a matter of gratitude into a matter of discontent, the more formidable that there will be really some reason for it.—I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly, Thomas Chalmers."

One of Dr Chalmers's main objects of anxiety at this period was to vindicate the religious element from having had any other than a salutary effect. He entered upon this vindication in a more formal and elaborate manner than was possible in any correspondence, in two discourses* preached in St. John's Church on Sabbaths the 30th April and 7th May. "An enlightened Christian," he said upon the former of these occasions, "recognises the hand of God in all the shelter that is thrown over him from the fury of the natural elements; and he equally recognises it in all the shelter that is thrown over him from the fury of the moral elements by which he is surrounded. Had he a more favourable view of our nature he might not look on government as so indispensable; but with the view that he actually has, he cannot miss the conclusion of its being the ordinance of heaven for the Church's good upon earth; and that thus a canopy of defence is drawn over the heads of Zion's travellers; and they rejoice in the authority of human laws as an instrument in the hand of God for the peace of their Sabbaths, and the peace of their sacraments; and they deprecate the anarchy that would ensue from the suspension of them with as much honest principle, as they would deprecate the earthquake that might engulf, or the hurricane that might sweep away their habitations; and, aware of what humanity is, when left to itself, they accept, as a boon from heaven, the mechanism which checks the effervescence of all those fires that would else go forth to burn up and to destroy.

"This, at all times the feeling of every enlightened Christian, must have been eminently and peculiarly so at that time when our recent alarms were at the greatest height. It was the time of our sacrament; and to all who love its services, must it have been matter of grateful rejoicing, that, by the favour of Him who sways the elements of nature, and the as uncontrollable elements of human society, we were permitted to finish these services in peace; that in that feast of love and good-will we were not rudely assailed by the din of warlike preparation; that, ere Sabbath came, the tempest of alarm, which had sounded so fearfully along the streets of our city, was hushed into the quietness of Sabbath; so that, like as if in the midst of sweetest landscape, and amongst a congregation gathered out of still and solitary hamlets, and with nothing to break in upon the deep repose and tranquillity of the scene save the voice of united praise from an assembly of devout and revering worshippers, were we, under the protection of an arm stronger than any arm of flesh, and at the bidding of a voice more powerful than that of mighty conquerors, suffered to enjoy the pure and peaceful ordinances of our faith, with all the threats and all the outcries of human violence kept far away from us.

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* These two discourses, embodied into one, entitled "A Sermon on the Importance of Civil Government to Society," were published on the 16th May. In less than a month 6000 copies of the two first editions of this sermon were issued, and on the 9th June a third edition of 3000 copies was printed. It now appears in Dr. Chalmers's *Works*, vol. vi. pp. 335-377.

"It was the apprehension of many, that it might have been otherwise. And what ought to be their enduring gratitude, when, instead of the wrath of man let loose upon our families, and a devoted city given up to the frenzy and the fierceness of a misguided population; and the maddening outcry of combatants plying against each other their instruments of destruction; and the speed of flying multitudes, when the noise of the footmen and the noise of the horsemen gave dreadful intimation of the coming slaughter; and the bursting conflagration, in various quarters, marking out where the fell emissaries of ruin were at work; and the shock, and the volley, and the agonies of dying men, telling the trembling inmates of every household, that the work of desperation had now begun upon the streets, and might speedily force its way into all the dwelling places:—this is what that God, who has the elements of the moral world at command, might have visited on a town which has witnessed so many a guilty Sabbath, and harbours within its limits the ungodliness of so many profane and alienated families. In what preciousness, then, ought that Sabbath to be held; and what a boon from the kindness of long-suffering Heaven should we regard its quietness, when, instead of such deeds of vengeance between townsmen and their fellows, they walked together in peaceful society to the house of prayer, and sat in peacefulness together at its best loved ordinance."

On the Monday which followed the delivery of this passage, Thistlewood and his four companions, convicted for the Cato-street conspiracy, were executed in London, and the whole country was shocked by the horrors of such a scaffold scene as has rarely if ever been witnessed among us.* On the succeeding Sabbath, while prosecuting his subject, Dr. Chalmers made the following allusion to the execution:—" There is something in the history of these London executions that is truly dismal. It is like getting a glimpse into Pandemonium ; nor do we believe that in the annals of human depravity did ever stout-hearted sinners betray a more fierce and unfeeling hardihood. It is not that part of the exhibition which is merely revolting to sensitive nature that we are now alluding to. It is not the struggle, and the death, and the shrouded operator, and the bloody heads that were carried round the scaffold, and the headless bodies of men who but one hour before lifted their proud defiance to the God in whose presence the whole decision of their spirits must by this time have melted away. It is the moral part of the exhibition that is so appalling. It is the firm desperado step with which they ascended to the place of execution. It is the undaunted scowl which they cast on the dread apparatus before them. It is the frenzied and bacchanalian levity with which they bore up their courage to the last, and earned, in return, the applause of thousands as fierce and as frenzied as themselves. It is the unquelled daring of the man who laughed and who sung and who cheered the multitude ere he took his leap into eternity, and was cheered by the multitude, rending the air with approbation back again. These are the doings of infidelity. These are the exhibitions of the popular mind after that religion has abandoned it. It is neither a system of unchristian morals, nor the meagre Christianity of those who deride, as methodistical, all the peculiarities of our faith, that will recall our neglected population. There is not one other expedient by which you will recover the olden character of England but by going forth with the gospel of Jesus Christ among its people. Nothing will subdue them but that regenerating power which goes along with the faith of the New Testament, and nothing will charm away the alienation of their spirits but their belief in the overtures of redeeming mercy."

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* "Ings then came up;—he was dressed in his butcher's jacket. On reaching the scaffold he gave three cheers, and turned round several times to the multitude, and smiled at them, and then sung in a discordant voice—'O give me death or liberty.' Brunt was the last that came out. He passed hastily up the steps, and advanced with a laugh on his countenance. Whilst the rope was adjusting, he looked towards St. Sepulchre's Church, and perceiving some one with whom he had been acquainted, he nodded several times, and then made an inclination of the head towards the coffins as if in derision of the awful display. When his neckerchief was taken off, the stiffener fell out, and he kicked it away, saying, 'I sha'nt want that any more.' The executioner now proceeded to pull their caps over their eyes, and adjust the ropes. When he came to Ings the unhappy man said, 'Now, old gentleman, finish me tidily; tie the handkerchief tight over my eyes; pull the rope tighter, it may slip.' * * * When the bodies had been suspended exactly half an hour, the executioner and an assistant appeared on the scaffold to prepare for the revolting ceremony of decapitation. Thistlewood was first cut down, and being placed with his head on the block, an eminent medical Professor, disguised in a rough jacket and trousers, and a mask on his face, appeared with an amputating knife, and in a few moments the head was severed from the body. * * * The operator was loudly hissed and groaned at by the mob, and some atrocious expressions were applied to him."—*Extracted from Glasgow Herald of date May 5th*, 1820.

CHAPTER XII.

ILLNESS OF HIS BROTHER ALEXANDER—VISITS TO BLOCHAIRN, STRATHBLANE, AND GLENFINART—PAROCHIAL LODGINGS—MINISTERIAL ACTIVITY—THE REV. EDWARD IRVING—HIS AGENCY AND THEIR OPERATIONS—INSTANCES OF HIS PLAYFUL FAMILIARITY—THE DINNER IN THE VESTRY—ANECDOTES OF MR. IRVING AND DR. BELL—ADDRESS TO THE ELDERS.

"*March* 17*th*, 1820.—I am this day forty. Oh that God may give me a more tenacious purpose than ever of cleaving to Him wholly! I desire to be as He would have me. What a removal of a mighty barrier it is that Christ has died for our sins. It is my desire to live for Him who died for me. Pray for me and for yourself; and let not the world that passeth away detain our attention from the world that is fast approaching. God will give us rest in eternity if we serve Him aright here. * * * That is a sad delusion in virtue of which things present so engross our hearts; and nothing serves more surely to perpetuate it than the legal imagination of our being able to cast off the burden of this engrossment with our own strength. Let us admit by faith the things which are told to us and offered by God, and these will cast them out. Let us lay hold of the stretched out forgiveness; and should we thus receive the atonement, that will relieve and purify the heart of its evil visitants. Let me entreat you to look to the word of God's testimony, and think not that anything else than a simple reception of these words, 'that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin,' is necessary for the purpose of your being cleansed from your sin. It is the idea that something more is necessary which obstructs this reception. It is the imagination of a great personal work to which you must set yourself, and in which you have hitherto sat down in listlessness and despair, that keeps you at a distance from God. He approaches you with overtures—and what you have to do is to close with them. He approaches you with tidings—and what you have to do is to give credit to them. This is doing the work of God, that you believe on Him whom He hath sent: and could this transition be accomplished, then would you be translated into a habit of cheerful and progressive obedience, which in a way of legalism, or in the attempt to establish a righteousness of your own, you never can attain.

"Let me know particularly how Sandy is. I have long mourned over my utter helplessness in the way of free communication on these subjects with my own relatives. I could no more, for example, enter into close conversation with —— than I could fly. Oh! that I were enabled to say, by example, by patience, by kindness, what I have not yet been able to say in words."

These instructive sentences were addressed to Mrs. Chalmers, whose sister had been married a few months previously to Dr. Chalmers's favourite brother Alexander. An alarming and tedious illness, which had attacked him in the beginning of the year, affected the whole summer arrangements of the family in Glasgow. Mrs. Chalmers joined her sister at Kirkaldy in February, and remained with her till the end of August. During the earlier part of this period the children were left with Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow, and he had to taste the sweets and the bitters of his solitary charge. "The children were up stairs," he says, describing one of his arrivals from Edinburgh, "while I settled with the porter in the lobby, and went afterwards to my own bed-room. I heard them come down in a very gleesome style, but they had to wait in the lobby till I came out, which when I did they positively quivered and danced with pure gladness. I felt the cat and kitten principle most powerfully towards them, and spent a very joyous and thankful hour with them." "Was greatly fashed," he writes again about a week afterwards, "with the restlessness of the bairns upon the sofa—at one time pressing in between me and the back of it; at another standing upright and coming suddenly down upon me; at a third sitting upon its elevated border and repeating this threatening position, forgetful of all my biddings upon the subject, and in fact putting me into a perfect fry with their most incessant and ungovernable locomotion." Of both the joys and the sorrows of this condition he was relieved at the end of May, and during the months of June, July, and August, he was alone in Glasgow. One delightful week was spent at Blochairn, with a family to whom he became very strongly and tenderly attached. "I staid," he says, "in Mr. Parker's from Monday the 5th June to Saturday the 10th. On Saturday I took my final leave of Blochairn. The kindness I have gotten there is very great, and will, I trust, be indelibly graven upon my remembrance." On Monday the 12th, Dr. Chalmers preached for the Rev. Dr. Hamilton at Strathblane, and stayed during the following week in one of the most agreeable and hospitable of Scottish manses, from which he writes,—"The way here is to breakfast at eight and dine at two. This gives me a forenoon of from four to five hours, during which I make two distinct efforts of study. I threw off this forenoon (Thursday) a great quantity of No. IV.; and immediately after dinner Mr. Hamilton and I ascended the highest hill in the neighbourhood, from which we had a superb view; The Lomonds of Fife and Largo Law were distinctly visible. the ascent took us two hours and a quarter, the descent about an hour and a quarter. We drank tea with a parochial family, and attended a library-meeting after it. * * * *Saturday.*—After dinner I left Strathblane, and set out on a walking expedition to Glasgow. A chaise, with only two in it, and one of them Mr. M'Callam, a man of Architecture whom you may recollect at our house in Kilmany, overtook me and I got a place in it to Glasgow. I was a good deal annoyed with one of the London deputies calling upon me and telling me of his success in consequence of my letter to Mr. Wilberforce, and after all craving something personally from myself. Called on a parishioner with the view of announcing my purpose to have family worship in his house on Monday night: he also unhallowed the visit by obtruding upon me a case of pauperism. This contrasts a little painfully with the pleasure and quietness of the scene which I have left so recently."

"*Glenfinart, Wednesday, the* 28*th June.*—I proceeded in the steam-boat to Gourock, from whence I hired a small boat for this place. It was delightfully calm and warm, and after two hours of partly rowing and partly sailing up the fresh and bold and nobly-banked Loch Long, I landed about a mile below Glenfinart, where I found Lord and Lady Dunmore, Lady Jane Montgomerie, the young Earl of Eglinton, aged seven, his tutor, and a few callers, who left us in a few minutes; all above named remaining as the guests or inmates of the house for some time. *Thursday.*—I had a most delicious drive with Lord Dunmore in a gig up the interior of a singularly wild and simple country. Dined about four, and had a little party afterwards to ascend the highest hill in the neighbourhood. His Lordship soon gave up the ascent. We had a little pony, of which I made great use. It was somewhat hazy, but I enjoyed the prospect amazingly. We descended so as to be at home again after nine. Brought down a beautiful new plant, and investigated it before the Countess and Lady Jane. Tell Sandy that it is the *saxifraga stellaria.* Lord Dunmore is very accomplished in conversation. I trust that I feel more solemnized among these great features of the Divine workmanship;

but oh, how slender is the principle of my spiritual life! There is the utmost kindness in this place."

"*Glasgow, Tuesday, July* 11*th.*—Miss ——'s sister, a married woman, called with the object of delivering a long rigmarole invective against her sister. I was quite impatient. She spoke of my being in her sister's will, and of my having taken her down one day in my chariot from Kensington Place to St. John's, which was all true of the noddy. I got so desperately tired of her incessant volubility that I said I would listen no longer, and left the drawing-room for my bed-room, whither however she followed me, but I soon got the door shut against her; and I shall now insist that Miss —— puts my session out of her will altogether, for I am to have nothing to do with a set of cackling wives and old maids.* Mr. Robert Dalgleish's chaise came with Mr. and Mrs. Wood to take us out to Campsie, where we all arrived about four o'clock. After tea a number of us walked to Campsie Glen, and did not return till eleven o'clock at night.

"*Wednesday.*—Went on horseback with a brother of Mr. Dalgleish's to scale the Muckle Bin, a large and lofty hill in the neighbourhood. The chaise came so far on after us with Mr. and Mrs. Wood, and Miss Dalgleish. The day was hazy. After we descended a little from the top, Mr. A. D. and I parted from the chaise party—taking our horses and our guide along with us. I had nearly *laired* among the soft moss of the hill, and in the struggle my horse fell on its side, but providentially not till it had thrown me on my side at a sufficient distance away from it, having previously in throwing back its head struck my face and set my nose a bleeding. I was not materially hurt. We walked and rode alternately home, my companion keeping me abundantly in countenance by falling twice from his horse. The chaise party at home long before us: we found them at dinner between five and six o'clock. After dinner there came an express from Kilsyth, with an intimation of poor Dr. Rennie's death. This is his sacramental week, and I had been engaged to preach there to-morrow. We were on the eve of sending a messenger to Kilsyth to inquire if the sacrament was to go on, when Mr. Lapslie came in the meantime and told us that it was. I took the warm bath this evening in one of the immense circular vats of the manufactory. It was fortunate that it was not a dye-work, else I might have come out of a bottle-green colour.

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* Greatly teased one day by a lady, who kept him listening to her for a long and at a very inconvenient time, he said to a friend after her departure, when describing the infliction from which he had just escaped—"And it would have been nothing if she had been saying anything to the purpose, but it was a *mere gurgle of syllables.*"

" *Thursday.*—I took my leave of the kind people of Campsie, and on reaching Kilsyth found Dr. M'Lean and Mr. Marshall there before me. Was conducted to the room where the corpse lay, and got a view of it. Mr. Marshall preached most admirably in the forenoon on 'Grieve not the Spirit.' I preached in the afternoon. We saw Mrs. Rennie for a little, and there was a struggle between her anxiety to prolong our talk with her, and my anxiety about the boat, into which we got at half-past six o'clock, and are now on our way to Glasgow. I have written the whole of the last page, and what is written of the present, since I came on board."

A hasty visit was paid to Kirkaldy in the end of July. In passing through Edinburgh on his return to Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers spent a night at Merchiston Castle, where Dr. George Bell was residing. "He assures me," says Dr. Chalmers, "that had I declared myself a candidate I would have obtained the Moral Philosophy Chair,* but that as matters stood nothing short of such a declaration would do. He evidently believes that I would have taken it had it been offered, and perhaps he is right. My desire is, to give the remainder of my days to intellectual rather than to bodily labour. An excess of the latter I find to be very hurtful, and should God uphold me in strength and in the exercise of my faculties, I contemplate a far more deliberate process of authorship than I have yet had leisure for."

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* The Moral Philosophy Chair in the University of Edinburgh had become vacant by the lamented death of Dr. Thomas Brown. Dr. Chalmers was early asked to

That he might prosecute his parochial labours with greater facility and less distraction, Dr. Chalmers rented a small apartment within the bounds of the parish. "I called on Mr. Newbigging," he writes on his return to Glasgow, "and went along with him to Mrs. Hamilton's. I take one room from her, and the bed is to be put up on Monday. I took a lesson from you, and determined to settle beforehand about the rent. She said that would be according to the trouble, and condescended on six or seven shillings a-week, but that we would not cast out. After such a moderate condescension as this I do think that there is very little danger." The following letter presents such a picture of ministerial activity as has seldom been paralleled:—

" , Head of Marlborough Street,
at Mrs. Hamilton's Lodgings.

"My ever Dearest Grace,—I have been so much occupied these ten days that I have not been able to put pen to paper for you, and a regular journal of my transactions is now out of the question. I landed here on Monday evening last week,

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become a candidate. "I this day," he writes on the 9th March, "received letters from Dr. Jones and Dr. Charles Stuart about the Professorship. The former was asked by a member of the Town Council to put the question, whether, if I was elected to the Chair, I would take it? I wrote back that I was too busy to deliberate about such a supposition—that I was not at all solicitous for a change—and that if patrons did not choose to hazard my refusal I did not want to have any thing to do with them. I told him I was not a candidate, nor did I ask anybody to move in the matter at all."

and find every thing done for me in a most quiet and comfortable style. I only regret that my present very long visitation should lie so remote from the district of my parish that is immediately around me. This will be a mighty improvement in any of my future parochial lodgments; and I feel and perceive the mighty charm of being much among the people in the capacity of their next-door neighbour.

"As it is, I spend four days a week visiting the people in company with the agents of the various districts over which I expatiate. I last week overtook between 700 and 800 people, and have great pleasure in the movement. This I am generally done with in the forenoon, and then dine either at the vestry or in a friend's house. In addition to this I have had an agency-tea every night excepting yesternight; and in a few evenings more I expect to overtake the whole agency of my parish. At nine I go out to family worship in some house belonging to the district of my present residence, where I assemble the people of the *land* or close vicinity, and expect, ere I quit my present quarters, to overtake in this way the whole of that district. I have generally Mr. Newbigging, who lives on the opposite side of the road, to accompany me upon these excursions in the capacity of precentor, and to drink a tumbler of rum toddy with me ere I go to bed. I generally breakfast at home; so that tea and punch have formed the only manufactures which I have yet required of my landlady.

"I furthermore have an address every Friday night to the people of my vicinity in the Calton Lancasterian schoolroom, and a weekly address will be necessary for each of the four weeks in St. John's Church, to the people whom I have gone over in regular visitation. Add to all this the missionary monthly meeting held yesternight, and you will find that, without one particle of study, I am in full occupation. I study only on the Fridays and Saturdays; and I am happy to say that the stock prepared by me in Kirkaldy is serving me out abundantly for my pulpit ministrations.

"In spite of all I have done I have had many interruptions. Going to Mrs. Wood one day for papers connected with Mr. Ballardie's affairs; a meeting of the Sabbath-school Society another; the Presbytery a third; my Thursday's sermon a fourth; a calling on stamp-offices and banks a fifth; a meeting of session a sixth; and lastly, another series of measures to originate for a second fabric, to be raised by a different operation over all the sitters in the parish of St. John's. It is wise to disentangle severe study from severe exertion; and I have great reason to be thankful, that though I have been labouring strenuously, I find that I am standing out marvellously.

"On Thursday last I got a letter from Mr. Andrew Thomson, stating that Mr. Dickson was dying, and urging me to declare for the successorship—assuring me, at the same time, that if I would do so, I would be sure of obtaining it. I did not choose to answer this immediately, as I thought it possible Mr. George Bell might write. On Saturday, however, I got another letter from Mr. Thomson intimating the death, and still more urgent for an immediate reply than before, as the opposite party were taking measures for a moderate clergyman. I wrote him, therefore, a declinature. On Tuesday I had a letter from Mr. George Bell, of the same date with Mr. Thomson's that came on Saturday, and which he by mistake had kept up. It was as urgent as Mr. Thomson's for my acceptance, and stated that he was to be in Glasgow on Thursday. I adhered to the answer I gave Mr. Thomson, and so that matter also rests for the present.

"My parochial operations are now at their most interesting crisis, and I do not feel that there is any church or congregation in Scotland that should tempt me to abandon them. There is a prodigious excess of reading day-scholars—inasmuch that another fabric has been resolved upon, and measures have been taken to prosecute a subscription for it among the sitters, and we have already got four patrons of £25 each, viz., Mr. Falconer, Mr. Robert Brown, Mr. George Watson, and Mr. David Stow. The subscription is still in its infancy, and promises remarkably well. Mr. W., our excellent friend, is evidently labouring under a vehement desire to be a patron of the second fabric as well as the first; and this desire is further seen in an evident struggle with the very modesties which made him recall for a season his £100 subscription to us, and Mr. Collins and I cannot help laughing most ecstatically at this circumstance, while in proportion to the heartiness of the laugh is the heartiness of the love that we bear to him.

"I had a long letter from Captain Gordon forwarded to my lodgings by Mrs. Foljambe, an English lady, who with her family are on a Scottish tour. I got it on Friday night, but I could not see her all Saturday, and did not meet with her till between sermons on Sunday—a very pleasant and polite personage certainly, who offered me £1 for my schools after she heard sermon. In the morning of Sunday, too, before breakfast, and when I was still in bed, there came in an aged clerical looking personage, whom I had not before seen, and who asked if he was in the apartment of Dr. Chalmers, to which I replied in the affirmative. He announced himself to be Dr. Bell, founder of the Madras system of education, and he spoke with great vehemence and volubility in behalf of his method. In the course of the day I handed him over to Mr. Collins, who you know is the stout antagonist of the new system, and they have had a good tough controversy upon the subject. He spoke himself hoarse to me about it on my walk from the church to the bath; and on the Monday morning at breakfast I got him and Mr. Collins to have a further engagement thereanent: I believe he has left us in some degree of dudgeon. I have most gratifying testimonies from Edinburgh and other places of the progress of the system of locality. The work will not, however, get into very wide and abundant circulation till it has attained the size of a volume."

"*August* 15*th*, 1820.—It is now more than a week since I left off; and in the animating bustle of a condition that I certainly like very much, and in which I trust that God may honour me to be useful, I have suspended many things that I ought to mind. I expect to be done with my visitations in two days, and propose spending next week in light miscellaneous work devoted chiefly to the fabric.

"We have now got twelve patrons, and have made sure of £660. Eight hundred will warrant us to proceed.

"Since writing last, Mr. Bell and I had an interview. He acquiesces; but assures me, at the same time, that if I would only state my willingness, I would get it without a struggle. This I am quite decided about; and on the other hand, it gives me pleasure to observe that the people here are laying their account with losing me some time; and many of them even now acknowledge the superiority of a professorship to a church.

"When I look back for the events of the past week, I find myself at a loss how to single out any for your attention. I have been in a state of prodigious activity, and have not suffered by it. I have finished the whole round of my agency as to teas; and have really now very great comfort in the pauperism of the parish going on so smoothly and so easily. I fully expect that it is verging fast to annihilation. Yours most truly,
THOMAS CHALMERS."

His parochial arrangements were now complete, and with almost superhuman energy Dr. Chalmers guided and impelled every movement of the complicated apparatus. At the commencement of his ministry in St. John's he had secured the services of the Rev. Edward Irving, then a licentiate of the

Church. There were peculiarities both of thought and utterance which made Mr. Irving unpopular as a preacher. He had given up the prospect of a settlement at home and had resolved to leave his native land, full of the chivalrous romance of Christianity. His intention was, relying simply upon such resources as he could open up for himself by the way, to go as a missionary to Persia, after a preliminary wandering over Europe. To qualify himself for the self-imposed office, he applied himself to the study of the modern languages, and buried himself among his books. "Rejected by the living," as he told a friend,* "I was conversing with the dead." In the midst of his studies he was interrupted by a note from Dr. Andrew Thomson asking him to preach in St. George's, and telling him that he would have Dr. Chalmers, who was looking out for an assistant, as an auditor. He complied with the request, and preached as he had been desired, without, however, having seen or conversed with Dr. Chalmers. Days and weeks elapsed without any indication of his preaching having made any favourable impression. His books were all packed up and despatched to Annan, while he himself set off on a farewell tour round the west coast of Ayrshire to see some friends ere his departure for the East. Loitering on the quay at Greenock he stepped into a steamboat which was to carry him, as he thought, to Stranraer. It was only after her paddles had commenced to move that he discovered that she was bound for the Highlands. He leaped ashore, and treading in no pleasant frame of mind the Greenock quay once more, he resolved that, carry him where she might, he would embark in the next boat that sailed. It so happened that the vessel was bound for Belfast, and having just time to write his father saying, that if any letter came for him it should be addressed to Coleraine, he crossed the Channel and wandered for two or three weeks over the north of Ireland, sleeping in the houses of the peasantry, and in all its lights and shadows seeing Irish life. In due time he reached Coleraine, where there awaited him a letter from Annan, containing an enclosure which his father told him he would have copied if he could, but he could not decipher a single word. It was a letter from Dr. Chalmers requesting his immediate presence in Glasgow. He hurried there, arriving on a Saturday, when he found that Dr. Chalmers had gone to Fifeshire. As there was nothing definite in the letter, and as weeks had passed since it was written, Mr. Irving was about to give up the matter altogether when told by a friend that Dr. Chalmers had just returned. He saw him, and was told that it was his desire that he should be his assistant. "Well, Sir," said Mr. Irving, after the unexpected tidings had been communicated to him, "I am most grateful to you, but I must be also somewhat acceptable to your people. I will preach to them if you think fit, and if they bear with my preaching they will be the first people that have borne with it." He did preach, proved acceptable, and for the two years which followed—the busiest perhaps in all his busy life—Dr. Chalmers was refreshed and sustained by the congenial fellowship and effective co-operation of a like-minded and noble-hearted associate. There were three public services every Sabbath in St. John's Church, and one in a school-house situated in the eastern end of the parish, which commenced at the same time with the forenoon service in the church. These four services were shared equally between Dr. Chalmers and his assistant, the forenoon and evening service in the church on each alternate Sabbath devolving upon the one, the service in the school-house and the afternoon service in the church devolving upon the other. Dr. Chalmers commenced a series of lectures upon the Epistle to the Romans, and his assistant a series of lectures upon the Gospel of St. Luke. The same lecture which was delivered by each in the forenoon in the church was re-delivered, but not on the same day, to the evening congregation, the series as preached in the forenoon being generally two or three lectures in advance of the series as delivered in the evening. It was particularly desired that the evening congregation should only consist of parishioners and those of the poorer classes whom the high seat-rents charged upon the general or forenoon congregation served to exclude. The labours of household visitation were also shared between Dr. Chalmers and his assistant. In this department Mr. Irving was pre-eminently effective. In many a rude encounter the infidel radicalism of the parish bent and bowed before him. His commanding presence, his manly bearing, his ingenuous honesty, his vigorous intellect, and above all, his tender and most generous sympathies melted the hearts of the people under him, and second only to that which his more illustrious colleague possessed was the parochial influence which, after a few months' visitation, he gained and most fruitfully exercised. His own round among the families of the parish Dr. Chalmers completed within two years. The general manner of these visits has already been described. Much greater pains, however, were now taken both by himself and the other parochial agents to secure a large attendance at the evening addresses, by which these forenoon visitations were followed up. The success justified the effort. Multitudes who otherwise would never have had the overtures of Divine mercy addressed to them were brought within the sound of the preacher's voice. These local week-day undress congregations assembled in a cotton-mill, or the workshop of a mechanic, or the kitchen of some kindly accommodating neighbour, with their picturesque exhibition of greasy jackets and unwashed countenances, and hands all soiled. and fresh from labour turning up the pages of unused Bibles, had a special charm for Dr. Chalmers; and all alive to the peculiar interest and urgency of such opportunities, he stirred up every faculty that was in him while he urged upon the consciences and the hearts of such auditors the high claims of the Christian salvation. His chosen and beloved friend Mr. Collins—who, after such a life of honourable service in the cause of Christ as few laymen among us have ever lived, in that retirement into which feeble health has forced him still cherishes with unabated zeal those interests which in bygone years he toiled so much to further—often accompanied Dr. Chalmers to these evening meetings; and we have his reiterated and emphatic testimony, that no bursts of that oratory which rolled over admiring thousands in the Tron Church or in St. John's, ever equalled, in all the highest qualities of eloquence, many of those premeditated but unwritten addresses, in which, free from all restraint, and intent upon the one object of winning souls to the Saviour, that heart which glowed with such intense desires for the present and eternal welfare of the working classes, unbosomed in the midst of them all the fulness of its Christian sympathies.

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* The Rev. Mr. Craig of Rothesay.

His own peculiar province of preaching and visiting formed but a section of that wide domain over which the labours of Dr. Chalmers at this period extended. Single handed, or even with such zealous aid as Mr. Irving could supply, but little comparatively could be done towards bringing the young and old of a population of 10,000 under effectual Christian training. He threw himself, therefore, upon the help of the laity, and in no region of effort does his power appear to us to have been rarer or more unrivalled than in his gathering around him, and stimulating to such noble deeds of Christian philanthropy so large a number of the intelligent and influential merchants of Glasgow. His genius threw a spell over many, and his brilliant fame, which now filled the empire, would have made them proud and happy to be associated with him. And in that intense and impulsive enthusiasm with which he embarked on any enterprise, there was much that was contagious. But his power over his agency had deeper and more enduring roots. Not a few of those who now became his fellow-workers owed to his ministry their first serious impressions of religion. And all, as in concert with him they prosecuted their labours of Christian love, came under the imperial sway of that guileless simplicity, that genial kindliness, that homebred sagacity, that playful humour, that generous and grateful benevolence which broke out at every stage of his intercourse with them, and which bound them to him and to the cause in which he had enlisted them by links of attachment a thousand times stronger than mere genius or fame has ever forged.

The parish of St. John's was divided into twenty-five districts, called proportions, each embracing from sixty to one hundred families. Reviving the ancient order of deacons, which in Scottish Presbyterian practice had long fallen into disuse, Dr. Chalmers appointed over each of these districts an elder and a deacon ; the spiritual interests of his proportion being committed to the former, and its temporal interests to the latter. The whole management of the pauperism of the parish, the details of which are reserved as the subject of a separate chapter, was entrusted to the deacons. In each district one or more Sabbath-schools were instituted ; male and female teachers, to the number of between forty and fifty, being engaged in this work, while a few classes were opened for the adult population. There were the ordinary meetings of the kirk-session, there were monthly meetings of the deacons, monthly meetings of the Sabbath-school teachers, monthly meetings in the church for missionary purposes, and frequent meetings of the Educational Association ; all of these Dr. Chalmers regularly and punctually attended, or, if at any time necessarily absent, such excuse as the following was sent by him :—" I entreat that the want of my presence may have no weight in injuring the spirit and energy of your proceedings, and let the worth of the cause at all times carry it over the want of a thing so worthless as a mere human instrument." When present at these meetings of the different sections of his agency, he was himself the soul and spirit of almost every movement, but there was no desire to dictate, no assumption of superiority. Gifted as he was with the happy art of placing all around him at perfect ease, entire liberty of discussion was suffered, yet the liberty never was abused. The hint or suggestion of the humblest or youngest member received the fullest and kindest consideration, and, if adopted, to mark the obligation thus conferred, it was generally called by the name of its proposer. "Our meetings," says one of his elders,* looking back over thirty years, "were very delightful. I never saw any set of men who were so animated by one spirit, and whose zeal was so uniformly sustained. The Doctor was the very life of the whole, and every one felt himself as led on by him, committed to use his whole strength in the cause of that good God who had in His mercy sent us such a leader." It was only in greater matters, or when general principles were concerned, that Dr. Chalmers personally interfered. The minor details were entrusted to the agents themselves,—the confidence reposed in them quickening and animating their zeal. But while much was committed into their hands, the most incessant vigilance was exercised over the manner in which every duty was discharged. Regular reports from all quarters were constantly coming in, and messages and requests and suggestions were as constantly being issued. Had his agents but preserved all the brief notes of a line or two which they received from Dr. Chalmers, it would be seen what an incessant shower of these little billets, not one of which was despatched on a fruitless errand, he was constantly discharging. Intercourse at meetings or by letter was not enough ; something closer and more familiar was required to bind all lovingly together. Every Monday morning in his own house there was an agency breakfast, to which a general invitation was issued, and at which from six to eight of his elders, deacons, or Sabbath-school teachers, were generally present. More special invitations to tea were also given, and that with such frequency, that there was scarcely an agent who was not asked once to the house within each six weeks.

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* James Thomson, Esq.

Over the whole of this intercourse the charm of an open-hearted cordiality and the light of a cheerful mirthfulness were thrown. Entering the school-room in Macfarlane Street one Monday forenoon, he said to Mr. Aitken, "My family, you are aware, are now at Kirkaldy, and as I wish to have an hour's easy chat with you and Mr. M'Gregor, will you just come up at three o'clock and have a steak with Mr. Irving and myself in the vestry?" In company with Mr. Irving he called as the schools were dismissing, and the two ministers and the two teachers proceeded to the vestry. The table was set, and John Graham, the beadle, officiated as waiter. Tales of the school and out of the school followed close upon each other. "I am afraid," said Dr. Chalmers to one of the teachers, "that your labour is not of the right sort—too exhausting." Mr. Aitken mentioned that Dr. Bell from India had called the previous day between sermons, desiring to see the class-room. "I had a call from him," said Dr. Chalmers, "this morning. I was lying awake in my old woman's room, cogitating whether I should get up or not, when I heard a heavy step in the kitchen and the door opening, and the speaker entering, a rough voice exclaimed, 'Can this be the chamber of the great Dr. Chalmers?'" "And what did you say?" inquired Mr. Irving, who enjoyed exceedingly the ridiculousness of the question. With a quiet smile and inimitable archness, accompanied by frequent shutting of his eyelids

"I even told him," said Dr. Chalmers, "that it was, and I invited him to stay and breakfast with me. I knew that Mr. Collins was to be out with a proof, and was glad to think that the discussion between the merits of his school system and the Scottish, which I knew was soon to follow, would be supported by one who, I suspected, was more than a match for him." "Well," said Mr. Irving, "and how did it turn up?" "Mr. Collins arrived as I expected, and to it they set tooth and nail." "And the result?" "Collins was too many for him." The hour filled up with such pleasant talk, the two teachers returned to their school-rooms, and the two ministers to their rounds among the parishioners.

At an agency tea-party, Mr. Irving, who had just returned from a tour in Ireland, related some amusing particulars of his perambulations through the liberties of Dublin. "I entered," he said, "a miserable cabin, in which an old woman was smoking a pipe by the fire. Seeing three coarse portraits on the wall, I asked her who they were? 'Sure that's St. Paul on the right.' And this? 'An' sure, isn't that St. Peter?' And he in the centre? 'And don't you know Pat Donnelly, the bruiser?—sure everybody knows him.'" Mr. Irving proceeded to tell of his going to the Roman Catholic chapel in Dublin to see high mass performed, a ceremony which he had never witnessed. To escape observation, he ensconced himself behind a pillar, where he stood. Every now and then, however, an old woman behind him pulled him by the skirts, saying, "Sure you'll go down on your knees." "And did you go down?" said one of the St. John's elders. "I went down at last, both to please the old woman, and to prevent the tails of my coat being torn off by the tugs she was constantly giving." The question as to whether he should have done this or not was raised and keenly discussed. Dr. Chalmers said nothing. The discussion closed, and conversation took another turn, still, however, Dr. Chalmers stood in dreamy abstraction. He was evidently still busy trying to settle the *quaestio vexata* satisfactorily to his own mind; nor was it till some practical question had to be determined that he came out of his abstraction.

Such instances of absence of mind would frequently occur. "Three members of session," says Mr. Aitken, "being also patrons of the school, called on me, along with the Doctor, to perfect a certain arrangement regarding my adult class. The Doctor had introduced the subject when the drums in the adjoining barracks struck up the usual tattoo, and continued playing military airs. The discussion was maintained by the other gentlemen, but the Doctor, I saw, was completely engrossed by the music. They came to a decision during his mental absence, and waited his hearing. That was only obtained when the drums stopped. 'Well, gentlemen,' he then said, 'what do you propose?' 'The question is settled, Doctor.' 'Indeed! then I suppose we may go.' It had been often disputed whether the Doctor had any tune. This I cannot determine, but am certain he had his musical enjoyment as well as others—of this the above is one proof, his choice of Scarborough* and Devizes as his favourite tunes with all precentors is another."

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* Scarborough was the chief favourite, scarcely a Sabbath passing in which the precentor did not get specific instructions to close the services by singing it; and they were once opened by it in St. John's in rather a singular manner. A half-witted woman, who was a most faithful attendant on Dr. Chalmers's ministry, seized the opportunity, and as soon as the first line of the psalm had been given out from the pulpit, struck up the favourite tune. The precentor had no time given to him to interfere, and so well and so powerfully was his office performed for him that he wisely let her singing stand for his own, and struck in at the second line of the psalm. This woman's extreme love for the ministry turned at last into an extreme love for the person of Dr. Chalmers, a love which became with her an absorbing passion. She firmly believed it to be returned. "Mrs. Chalmers folk said was his wife, but she kent better, and so did the Doctor himsel'." At first she had been perfectly harmless, and had been freely admitted to the church, but now persecuted by all kinds of strange attentions from her, and alarmed as to what her singular passion for him might tempt her to do, Dr. Chalmers was seized with a

Mr. Thomson and Mr. Heggie, an elder and a deacon, went out one evening to Kensington Place, where Dr. Chalmers was living, to speak to him about some parish matters. They found him on the floor busy playing at bowls with his children "Come away, Mr. Heggie," he exclaimed when they entered, without changing however his position, "you can tell us how this game ought to be played." Elder and deacon, minister and children, were soon all busy at the game together. "This is not the way," said Mr. Thomson, "we used to play bowls in Galloway." "Come along, then," said Dr. Chalmers, "let us see what the Galloway plan is." And to it they set again with keener relish than ever, till Mrs. Chalmers at last said, "What a fine paragraph it will make for the Chronicle to-morrow, that Dr. Chalmers, and one of his elders, and one of his deacons, were seen last night playing for a whole hour at marbles!"

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nervous terror of her. One Sabbath, when the church was very crowded, she had got up to the top step of the pulpit stair. Dr. Chalmers entered the pulpit without noticing her, but on turning round, there she was by his side. "John," said he, to the beadle, shrinking back to the furthest side of the pulpit in extreme terror—"John, I must be delivered conclusively from that woman." She was now forbid access to the church, as the very sight of her disturbed him. Nevertheless, she faithfully attended in Macfarlane Street, and when she could not get near to him she would stand wiping with her handkerchief the froth off the mouth of the horse which had carried him to church. At one time she was seized with the dread that he did not get enough to eat at home. Coming upon him once unexpectedly at the corner of a street, "Come, Doctor, do come, and get a plate of parritch; I hae fine meal the noo." As he would not take the food that she thought so necessary at her house, she resolved to carry it to his own. One evening, at Kensington Place, the servant, on opening the door, was surprised by a large round bundle, covered with a red handkerchief, being thrown into the lobby. On unwrapping it, it was found to contain oat cakes and sheep's trotters, for the special sustentation of the minister. On his return to Glasgow a year after going to St. Andrews, he entered the house of one of his elders in great agitation;—"Mr. Thomson," he said, "that daft woman is in pursuit of me. Can you not carry me to my brother's by some way that she cannot track our path?" Mr. Thomson undertook and executed the commission; but they had not been long gone when she appeared at the door with a large jug of curds and cream, nor would she be satisfied till Mrs. Thomson had taken her through all the rooms of the house to convince her that Dr. Chalmers was not there.

" Well, really," said Dr. Chalmers, starting up, " it is too bad in us, gentlemen, we must stop." Two hours of useful and instructive conversation followed, not made in any way the less so by the manner in which they were ushered in.

Dr. Chalmers often spoke of " the prosperous management of human nature" as one of the noblest and most delightful exercises of human power, and most pleasantly and most prosperously was such management now carried on by himself, with admirable skill, which never once, however, bordered upon artifice, the singleness and simplicity of the aim being always as conspicuous as the wise adjustment of the means—the harmlessness of the dove being blended with the wisdom of the serpent. Nor was it forgotten that while many plans were formed, and many efforts made, and many zealous agents embarked in their prosecution, something else and something higher was needed ere any spiritual fruit was borne. At the first setting apart his elders to their office in St. John's, Dr. Chalmers thus addressed them :—

> " The whole habit and tendency of my thoughts on the subject of Christian usefulness incline me to attach a far higher importance to your relationship with the parish of St. John's than to your relationship with the Church, and I do honestly believe, that never till the rights of parishes come to be better respected, never till the attention of ministers and elders be more restricted to the population of a given local territory, never till God put it into the hearts of men to go forth among our heathen at home with the same zeal and enthusiasm which are expected of missionaries who go abroad, will there be anything like a revival of religion throughout the mass of our city families, or a reclaiming of them from those sad habits of alienation from God and from goodness into which the vast majority of them have fallen.

"There is one circumstance of encouragement which you will soon in the course of your movements through the districts that are assigned to you be enabled to verify by your own experience. All the householders, with scarcely one exception, and whatever be their character in respect of Christianity, will welcome you with the utmost cordiality and courteousness. There is something in the very presence of one human being when he comes with the feelings and the desires of friendship, which serves to conciliate and to subdue another human being. Bear an honest regard to the people, and the people will, in spite of themselves, bear you an honest regard back again. This is what may be called an open door for you in the first instance, and the effect of frequent intercourse between the higher and lower orders of life in tranquillizing the general spirit of a community, and softening their malignant antipathies which else might ferment and fester and break out into open violence, and consolidating something like a system of brotherhood through a mighty aggregate of human beings, this I say would confer a civil blessing on the establishment of an eldership that is altogether incalculable.

"But it must be remarked, on the other hand, that so wide and universal a welcome from the families may lead at the outset to a most delusive anticipation. A civil comes more easily and readily than a Christian effect. You are not to infer, because the good-will of the people can be so immediately carried, that the conversion of the people will therefore speedily follow in its train. There is much of what is constitutionally attractive among men distinct and apart from any religious tendencies; and there is none who sets himself in good earnest to the working of a Christian effect, that will not soon feel himself engaged in a business where aids and instruments are necessary that are altogether superhuman. You will, in particular, be struck with the obstinate and determinate stand which the manhood of the population will make to all your proofs and all your earnestness. In sad proof of the progressive hardening of conscience will it be seen how arduous if not how impossible it is, with all the arts and resources of Christian philanthropy, to make any sensible advances on those who have been suffered to ascend from boyhood without the Word and without the ordinances.

" It is this which has shut up so many adventurers on the field of Christian usefulness, both at home and abroad, to the melancholy conclusion, that the grown-up generation are to be given up in despair, and that the hope of brighter and better days all lies with the capabilities of the young; and I certainly do recommend, among the foremost objects of your attention, the encouragement of those religious schools which may be situated within the limits of your respective localities, and for the discouragements which you will experience in the obstinacy and immovableness of many parents, you will often meet with a cheering compensation in the promise and docility of their children.

" At the same time, I would never give up any human being in despair. Forget not the affirmation of the missionary Elliot, that it was in the power of pains and of prayers to do any thing. We are apt to confide in the efficacy and wisdom of our own arrangements—to set up a framework of skilful contrivance, and think that so goodly an apparatus will surely be productive of something—to please ourselves with parochial constitutions, and be quite sanguine that on the strength of elderships and deaconships and a machinery of schools and agents and moralizing processes some great and immediate effect is to follow. But we may just as well think that a system of aqueducts will irrigate and fertilize the country without rain, as think that any human economy will Christianize a parish without the living water of the Spirit—without the dew of heaven descending upon the human administrators, and following them in their various movements through the houses and families under their superintendence. Still it is right to have a parochial constitution, just as it is right to have aqueducts. But the supply of the essential influence cometh from above. God will put to shame the proud confidence of man in the efficacy of his own wisdom, and He will have all the glory of all the spiritual good that is done in the world, and your piety will therefore work a tenfold mightier effect than your talents in the cause you have undertaken; and your pains without your prayers will positively do nothing in this way, though it must be confessed that prayers without pains are just as unproductive, and that because they must be such prayers of insincerity as cannot rise with acceptance to heaven. It is the union of both which best promises an apostolical effect to your truly apostolical office; and with these few simple remarks do I commend you to Him who alone can bless you in this laudable undertaking, and give comfort and efficacy to the various duties that are involved with it."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ST. JOHN'S EXPERIMENT OF PAUPER MANAGEMENT—CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH IT WAS UNDERTAKEN—DIRECTIONS TO DEACONS—MODE OF CONDUCTING IT—ILLUSTRATIVE INSTANCES—THE RESULTS—ALLEGED EXPLANATIONS OF ITS SUCCESS—TESTIMONY OF DR. MACFARLANE—REPORT BY MR. TUFNELL—REASONS OF ITS RELINQUISHMENT.

"I THINK it right to state," said Dr. Chalmers,* "that my great inducement to the acceptance of the parish of St. John's was my hope thereby to obtain a separate and independent management of the poor, which I felt it extremely difficult to obtain in my former parish from the way in which we were dovetailed and implicated with a number of distinct bodies." The desired extrication being once fairly effected, he proposed to relinquish for the future all claim upon the fund raised by assessment, and to conduct a population of 10,000, the cost of whose pauperism averaged £1400 annually, into the condition of an unassessed country parish, and to provide for all its indigence out of the fund raised by voluntary contributions at the church-doors. The experiment was almost universally regarded as chimerical; but as severe censures had been passed by its proposer on the existing mode of pauper management, and as sanguine expectations were expressed by him as to the result, there was a general desire in all the public bodies that full scope and opportunity for working it should be afforded. The magistrates of the city consented that the entire and exclusive control of the church-door collections in St. John's should be vested in the kirk-session of that parish. The General-session relinquished all claim to interfere, while the Town Hospital readily acquiesced in the proposal submitted to it by Dr. Chalmers. Its own pensioners, out-door and in-door connected with the parish of St. John's, the Town Hospital was to continue to maintain, permitting the kirk-session of that parish to retain all its own funds, on condition that it took up all the new cases that should occur; that it bore the charge of all the existing cases of sessional poor; and that henceforth neither from the one class nor from the other should a single pauper be sent to the Town Hospital, or become chargeable on the general assessment for the city. The annual outlay upon the sessional poor whose claim to parochial relief had already been admitted, was £225. The yearly collections at the church-doors amounted to £400 received at the forenoon and afternoon services, and £80 at the evening service. With a balance therefore of £255 per annum, all new cases were to be permanently provided for, and all the old cases, however aggravated, were to be prevented from passing into the Town Hospital. A generation of paupers is so short-lived that the obvious result of this arrangement would have been that in the course of a few years what had previously cost £1400 annually, would be entrusted to a body of management who had only £480 annually at its disposal. The reduction however of pauper expenditure from the larger of these sums to the smaller, was far short of the extraordinary result which was actually accomplished.

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* In evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1830. See *Works*, vol. xvi. p. 314.

The new applications for relief were committed for investigation to the deacons. Confident that a comparatively small sum would be adequate, and jealous of mismanagement should a larger sum be allotted for the purpose, Dr. Chalmers gave into their hands the evening collection alone, the available surplus of the two day-collections being reserved for other parochial purposes. All depended on the watchful vigilance of those who, stationed at the out-posts, opened or closed the entry which led from poverty to pauperism. The instructions issued for their guidance were few but compendious. "When one applies for admittance through his deacon upon our funds, the first thing to be inquired into is, if there be any kind of work that he can yet do so as either to keep him altogether off, or as to make a partial allowance serve for his necessities; the second, what his relatives and friends are willing to do for him; the third, whether he is a hearer in any dissenting place of worship, and whether its session will contribute to his relief. And if after these previous inquiries it be found that further relief is necessary, then there must be a strict ascertainment of his term of residence in Glasgow, and whether he be yet on the funds of the Town Hospital, or is obtaining relief from any other parish. If upon all these points being ascertained the deacon of the proportion where he resides still conceives him an object for our assistance, he will inquire whether a small temporary aid will meet the occasion, and state this to the first ordinary meeting. But if instead of this he conceives him a fit subject for a regular allowance, he will receive the assistance of another deacon to complete and confirm his inquiries by the next ordinary meeting thereafter, at which time the applicant if they still think him a fit object, is brought before us, and received upon the fund at such a rate of allowance as upon all the circumstances of the case the meeting of deacons shall judge proper. Of course pending these examinations the deacon is empowered to grant the same sort of discretionary aid that is customary in other parishes."

To a deacon just entering upon office Dr. Chalmers wrote,* "I had three applications from your district yesterday, each of which will afford a distinct opportunity for introducing you into a habit by the perfecting of which what you now feel to be a laborious business will soon be felt a very easy, manageable, and at the same time interesting task. There is a distinction to be observed between one sort of application and another. The first is for relief grounded on age or bodily infirmity, in virtue of which those applying are not able to work;—this furnishes the cases for ordinary pauperism. The second is for relief granted on the want of work or defect in wages;—this it is not understood that by the law of Scotland we are obliged to meet or to provide for, and therefore ought never to be so met out of the ordinary funds. Your present applications are all of the second order, and the likelihood is that you will be able to meet them by work alone, or if this will not suffice, by a small temporary donation, which will be paid by Mr. Brown, our treasurer, when you render your account to him. In prosecuting the second sort of applications, you have to ascertain, in the first instance, whether the applicants have resided three years in Glasgow; and secondly, what are the profits coming into the family from their various sources and employments. Now, what I would earnestly recommend to you, is a thorough examination of these matters in the three present instances, were it for nothing but your own improvement in a business in which you will soon acquire an expertness that will give a facility and pleasure to all your future operations. Be kind and courteous to the people, while firm in your investigations about them; and just in proportion to the care with which you investigate will be the rarity of the applications that are made to you. The evidence for residence is had either by the receipts of rents from landlords, or by the oral testimony whether of these landlords or of creditable neighbours; the evidence for income, by inquiring at the people who furnish them with work. It may serve you as a sort of criterion of the adequacy of the means if you take along with you the fact that many are now working on the Green for 6s. a week, and are struggling with this as a temporary expedient for wearing through with their families—far from being a comfortable provision, we admit; but in times like the present, the burden is not all transferred from the poor to the rich, but is shared between them: it should be a compromise between the endurance of the one and the liberality of the other. N.B.—If drunkenness be a habit with the applicants, this in itself is an evidence of means, and the most firm discouragement should be put upon every application in these circumstances. Many applications will end in your refusal of them in the first instance, because, till they have had experience of your vigilance, the most undeserving are very apt to obtrude themselves; but even with them show good-will, maintain calmness, take every way of promoting the interest of their families, and gain, if possible, their confidence and regard by your friendly advice and the cordial interest that you take in all that belongs to them. It is a mighty element in all your inquiries, the character of the applicant, and hence the good of a growing familiarity with your district."

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* Letter addressed to Campbell Nasmyth, Esq., dated December 2, 1819.

Furnished with the general instructions, and occasionally guided and stimulated by such private letters of advice as the one now given, the deacons of St. John's commenced their interesting work. That work was at first somewhat delicate and difficult. A few hours could carry each through the territory allotted to him, and make him familiar with the limited number of families which it contained, but the applications for relief were numerous. The first imagination of the people was, that as a new and better system had been instituted under Dr. Chalmers, liberal allowances were to be more freely and generously distributed. It was not long till this misconception was rectified, nor was it difficult to carry the whole mind and feeling of the general community in favour of the methods and objects which these zealous agents set themselves to explain, to recommend, and to accomplish. The scrutiny to which each case was subjected was patiently, minutely, and most searchingly conducted. It was soon perceived that the very last thing which a deacon would allow was that any family in the parish should sink into the degraded condition of being chargeable on the parish funds. The drunken were told to give up their drunkenness, and that until they did so their case would not even be considered ; the idle were told to set instantly to work, and if they complained that work could not be gotten, by kindly applications to employers they were helped to obtain it ; the improvident were warned, that if with such sources of income as they had, or might have, they chose to squander and bring themselves to want, they must just bear the misery of their own procuring. A vast number of the primary applications melted into nothing under the pressure of a searching investigation. Deceptions of all kinds were attempted, and until experience had quickened incredulity, and made detection easier, were frequently successful. " In acting," says Mr. Kettle, " as a substitute for a friend, who had gone to the coast, I repeatedly assisted a poor woman from his district who had four children, (one in her arms,) and whose husband was in the Infirmary. On detecting her, and putting her into the hands of the police, it turned out that her husband was an industrious weaver, she a drunken slut, and their domicile nearly a mile out of the parish.—A brother deacon had a case still more flagrant. A poor woman in tears applied to him to bury a grown-up daughter who had died that day. He refused, notwithstanding much importunity and reference to another deacon, in whose district she had lately been, until he made a personal visit. This he did, but could find no such person. She applied next day, and on sending a young man with her, she disappeared in a crowd by the way. In stating the matter to her former deacon, he wondered if her husband, whom he had been at the expense of burying some six months before, was really dead. The two went in quest of the family, and found the buried husband and the dead daughter performing all the usual functions of life. I need hardly say that the woman was a drunkard. Such cases of deception were, however, rare, as the surveillance in general was very complete."

When the difficulties and distress of the applicants were patent and indubitable, every argument was employed and every facility was afforded to induce them to relieve themselves by their own efforts and their own industry. The father and mother of a family composed of six children both died: three of the children were earning wages, three were unable to work. The three elder applied to have the three younger admitted to the Town Hospital. They were remonstrated with; the evil of breaking up the family—the loss to the younger children—the disgrace that would be incurred by consigning them to pauperism, and the small additional sum required to keep them all together, were pointed out. The offer was made of a small quarterly allowance if they would continue together. They yielded to a suggestion wisely, kindly, but firmly urged. The quarterly allowance was only twice required. The Town Hospital was saved a sum fifty times greater than was expended upon the children at home, and that home was made fifty times happier and more blessed. "Who is there," says Dr. Chalmers, after recording an incident of which he made frequent use, "that does not applaud the advice that was given, and rejoice in the ultimate effect of it? We could have no sympathy either with the heart or understanding of him who could censure such a style of proceeding; and our conceptions lie in an inverse order from his altogether of the good and the better and the best in the treatment of human nature."

But the applicants were often absolutely helpless. They might have near relations, however, able to assist, or their neighbours, touched by the sympathies which former acquaintance or felt proximity to distress beget, might be willing to aid.—In one district two young families were deserted by their parents. Had the children been taken at once upon the parochial funds, the unnatural purpose of the parents would have been promoted, and the parochial authorities would have become patrons of one of the worst of crimes. The families were left to lie helplessly on the hands of the neighbourhood, the deacon meanwhile making every endeavour to detect the fugitives. One of the parents was discovered and brought back; the other, finding his object frustrated, voluntarily returned.—An old and altogether helpless man sought parish aid. It was ascertained that he had very near relatives living in affluence, to whom his circumstances were represented, and into whose unwilling hands, compelled to do their proper work, he was summarily committed.—Typhus fever made its deadly inroads into a weaver's family, who, though he had sixpence a day as a pensioner, was reduced to obvious and extreme distress. The case was reported to Dr. Chalmers, but no movement towards any sessional relief was made; entire confidence was cherished in the kind offices of the immediate neighbourhood. A cry, however, of neglect was raised; an actual investigation of what the man had received during the period of his distress was undertaken, and it was found that ten times more than any legal fund would have allowed him had been supplied willingly and without any sacrifice whatever to the offerers.—A mother and daughter, sole occupiers of a single room, were both afflicted with cancer, for which the one had to undergo an operation; the other was incurable. Nothing would have been easier than to have brought the liberalities of the rich to bear upon such a case; but this was rendered unnecessary by the willing contributions of food and service and cordials of those living around this habitation of distress. "Were it right," asks Dr. Chalmers, "that any legal charity whatever should arrest a process so beautiful?" "I never, during my whole experience in Glasgow, knew a single instance of distress which was not followed up by the most timely forthgoings of aid and of sympathy from the neighbours; I could state a number of instances to that effect. I remember going into one of the deepest and most wretched recesses in all Glasgow, where a very appalling case of distress met my observation—that of a widow, whose two grown-up children had died within a day or two of each other. I remember distinctly seeing both their corpses on the same table: it was in my own parish. I was quite sure that such a case could not escape the observations of neighbours. I always liked to see what amount of kindness came spontaneously forth upon such occasions, and I was very much gratified to learn a few days after, that the immediate neighbours occupying that little alley or court laid together their little contributions, and got her completely over her Martinmas difficulties. I never found it otherwise, though I have often distinctly observed, that whenever there was ostensible relief obtruded upon the eyes of the population, they did feel themselves discharged from a responsibility for each other's wants, and released from the duty of being one another's keepers; and this particular case of distress met the observation of the Female Society at Glasgow, which Society bears upon the general population, and with a revenue of some hundreds a year, from which it can afford very little in each individual instance, besides the impossibility of having that minute and thorough acquaintance with the cases that obtains under a local management. I remember having heard that a lady, an agent of that Society, went up stairs to relieve this widow, and gave all that the Female Society empowered her to give, which was just five shillings. The people observing this movement felt that the poor woman was in sufficient hands, and that they were now discharged from all further responsibility ; so that the opening up of this ostensible source of relief closed up far more effectual sources that I am sure would never have failed her."

By patient inquiries imposture was thus detected, and the deserving and the undeserving poor were carefully distinguished from each other. By kindly counsel and temporary aid habits of industry and the spirit of self-reliance were fostered. By diligent application at all the natural and ordinary sources of relief, relations and friends and neighbours were stimulated to the fulfilment of obligations binding in themselves, and most beneficial to society in their discharge ;—and all this was done by men who held a far different kind of intercourse with the poor from that of the cold official, who, ignorant of everything but the application made, presents himself in no other than the repulsive attitude of rejecting it if he can, or reducing the allowance to its lowest limits. The St. John's deaconry—employed as it was to promote the education as well as to manage the indigence of the parish—mingling as it did familiarly with all the families, and proving itself, by word and deed, the true but enlightened friend of all, did far more to prevent pauperism than to provide for it.

The results of these operations during the three years and nine months that Dr. Chalmers personally presided over them was most striking and instructive. The whole number of new cases admitted on the roll was twenty, the annual cost of whose maintenance was £66. Of these twenty cases, however, one was that of a lunatic, one of a deaf and dumb person, two of illegitimate children, and three of families where the husband had run away, so that there were only thirteen admitted on the ground of general indigence, the yearly expense incurred on their behalf amounting to no more than £32.

The number of sessional poor (that is, of poor who had been on the session's roll of one or other of the three parishes from sections of which St. John's had been composed) originally committed to Dr. Chalmers, after deducting those transferred to the session of St. James's, was ninety-eight, of whom, in the course of the period above indicated, twenty-eight had died and thirteen had been displaced in consequence of a scrutiny, leaving thus seventy-seven on the roll, the cost of whose yearly maintenance was £190. Their prosperous financial condition induced the session of St. John's, in the second year of their operations, to take the whole of the Town Hospital paupers connected with their parish off that institution, involving themselves in an additional expense of £90 a year. So that all the old pauperism which had not originated under their management —and which they had every reason to estimate as much larger than under that management it should have been—and all the new pauperism which had arisen, was now managed at a yearly cost of £280. From one-tenth of the city, and that part composed of the poorest of its population, the whole flow of pauperism into the Town Hospital had been intercepted, and an expenditure which had amounted to £1400 per annum was reduced to £280.

" By very many," says Dr. Chalmers, " our scheme was viewed with an hostility which proved to be relentless and persevering; and by many more, who looked to it with good-natured complacency, it was regarded as at best an airy, perhaps a beautiful idealism, the fond and sanguine speculation of a mere student, whose closet abstractions would never stand when brought into collision with the practical wisdom of practical men. We appeal to the still abiding recollection of more than twenty years back, if mixed with no little derision and disdain, our proposal was not met with an incredulity which was all but universal."*

It was sagely predicted at the outset of this experiment that it was sure to misgive, from the inability of any city parish of such a kind and extent of population to maintain its own poor from its own church-door collections. Nearly four years had now elapsed, and after defraying the expenses of all that they had originally undertaken, and assuming an additional annual burden of £90, the session of St. John's had £900 of surplus, of which, with the consent of the Magistrates and Council, £500 had been appropriated for the perpetual endowment of one of their parochial schools. Such unbounded prosperity might be attributed to the singular liberality which Dr. Chalmers's ministrations had called forth, and to the large amount which his church-door collections annually realized. He was apprehensive from the beginning that his success might be attributed to such a cause, and it was partly because of this, and partly because he desired to deliver his deacons from the temptation which the command of large and expansive funds is apt to produce, that he entrusted them only with the pence of the poor—the small collection of £80, received from the evening congregation. And now the singular and significant result was held up before the eyes of the incredulous, that even with so small a sum as this all the pauperism of 10,000 people, emerging during the course of nearly four years, could be adequately met, if at the first rightly dealt with. But there was still another suggestion which, in anticipation of some appearance of success in an enterprise which they regarded as wholly Utopian, had been made at a very early stage by the opponents of the scheme. Dr. Chalmers, it was said, might succeed in reducing his pauper expenditure within sufficiently narrow limits, by starving the poor out of his own parish, and driving them into the parishes adjoining. So fully open was his eye to this objection, and so well grounded was his confidence that the actual result would be precisely the opposite of that which the objectors had anticipated, that the reader may have already noticed, that in his letter to the Lord Provost Dr. Chalmers strongly urged that the free interchange then suffered between the poor of the different city parishes should cease, and that a law of residence, the same as that which subsisted between different country parishes, should be established between them. His impression was, that the poor themselves would be so much better pleased with a system which, while it would do nothing for the idle and the dissolute, brought human sympathy and kindness, and all friendly aids to industry into the dwellings of those who were in real want,—that instead of an efflux out of his parish there would be an influx into it, or, to use his own phrase, his conviction was, that his imports would exceed his exports. And it remains as one out of many evidences of his practical sagacity and foresight, that it turned out exactly as he had conjectured. At the beginning of March 1823, fifteen of the St. John's poor had removed to other parishes, and twenty-nine from other parishes had been received, the imports being thus about double the exports, a sum of £28 having thus been added to the natural and proper parochial expenditure.

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* See *Works*, vol. xxi. pp. 103, 104.

Driven from their first positions, and forced by the evidence of figures to confess that a remarkable result had been realized, the opponents of the scheme now began to attribute it to the extraordinary eloquence and zeal of its author, and to the strenuous management of that select body of agents which he had gathered from all quarters of the city, and whom by his presence and his impulsive energy he had kept working at a rate of vigilant activity altogether unprecedented. It would need, they said, another Dr. Chalmers, and another agency such as he only could assemble and inspire, to accomplish in any other parish a like result. It was in vain alleged by Dr. Chalmers that the result which had awakened such wonder was mainly attributable neither to him nor to his agency, but to the workings of nature's own simple mechanism, from which they had done little more than remove the encumbering check which had been laid upon it, so as to allow free scope for its own spontaneous evolutions. It was in vain that in proof of this he pointed to the unassessed suburb of the Gorbals,* where upon a population of 20,000, as poor as any within the city, the whole annual expenditure for pauperism was £350, but which nevertheless was found to be in so much better a condition than the assessed districts to which it lay contiguous, that when in 1817 an extraordinary expenditure of £10,000, raised to meet the existing distress, came to be distributed, it was found that instead of requiring more this parish required three or four times less than its own proportion of this sum. The idea had seized the public mind that some magic charm belonged to the chief operator and his chosen agents, by whom the parish of St. John's had been conducted to its existing condition;—and much *was* due to Dr. Chalmers, and much to his zealous band of coadjutors. It was his instinctive perception that much of the idleness and immorality of the lower classes was due to a legal security of support, and his strong intuitive faith in the power of a few primary principles of our nature to make a better provision for human want than law had made, which prompted him to try the experiment. And it was his singular power over others, both to convince and to inspirit, which surrounded him with fellow-workers without whose aid it could not have been successful. Great confidence in his wisdom was required. "At my first outset," says one of his agents, "in surveying my proportion, I found so many families, and even clusters of families, without any visible means of support, that I could hardly sleep at night thinking of their starving condition, but after more matured observation I found out secret springs of supply, and became more easy in my mind." In each deacon's first visitation of his district, in acquainting himself familiarly with all its families, in his inquiries and efforts connected with the education of all its children—in his thorough sifting of all cases of alleged want presented to him—in his firm refusal of all aid to the undeserving, much time and much energy were undoubtedly consumed. Still, however, it was true that the main difficulty had lain, and the chief expenditure of strength had been put forth in carrying the parish over that obstacle which the assessment had created. Once brought into the condition of an ordinary unassessed country parish, the management was very simple. From answers drawn up in reply to a series of questions put to them by Dr. Chalmers, it appears that the time spent by each of his deacons on the pauperism of the parish did not on an average exceed three hours a month. Even the forcing of the passage, arduous for the first adventurer and the gallant crew who accompanied him, was made comparatively easy for all who should come after, while, by the subdivision of parishes, the initial difficulties admitted of being indefinitely lessened. The public mind, however, remained unconvinced.

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* In 1819, in the Royalty of Glasgow (assessed) there was one pauper to every twenty-seven persons; in the Gorbals parish (unassessed) there was one pauper to every one hundred and seventy-eight persons. In the Royalty, supposing each person to pay an equal share of it, the sum expended on the poor amounted to three shillings and elevenpence halfpenny per head; in the Gorbals parish to *threepence halfpenny* per head. See Cleland's "Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow," &c., p. 33: Glasgow 1820. It is curious to compare with this the information given in the "Third Report of the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland," bearing date August 1848. It appears from this Report that in 1848 there was one pauper to every 11·51 of the population, and that the cost amounted to four shillings and a penny three-farthings per head.

The system had succeeded, it was said, in Dr. Chalmers's hands, but it would fail in any other. His removal from Glasgow in 1823 put this assertion fairly to trial. It would be seen when he had withdrawn how much of the success had been due to his presence and power. Instead of giving way and falling speedily to the ground, the system survived unhurt the shock of his departure as well as of the lengthened vacancy in the parish which ensued. His successor, the Rev. Dr. Macfarlane, has left us the following testimony as to the manner in which it wrought during his incumbency:—" The experience of sixteen months during which I was minister of St. John's, confirmed the favourable opinion which I previously entertained of the system; it worked well in all respects. With an income from collections not much exceeding £300, we kept down the pauperism of a parish containing a population of 10,000; and I know from actual observation that the poor were in better condition, and excepting the worthless and profligate who applied and were refused assistance, were more contented and happy than the poor in the other parishes of Glasgow. I was also agreeably disappointed at finding that Dr. Chalmers was not the only person having sufficient influence to obtain the aid of the respectable members of his congregation in administering the affairs of the poor; I had not the smallest difficulty in procuring a sufficient number of deacons for that purpose."* In 1830, ten years from the commencement of the undertaking, Dr. Chalmers informed the Committee of the House of Commons, before which he was examined, that the whole annual expense of St. John's pauperism for the preceding year had been £384, or, deducting the expense for lunatics and for deserted children, which, owing to peculiar circumstances, had come to press heavily upon the parish, was £232. At the end of the year 1833, an English Poor-Law Commissioner, E. C. Tufnell, Esq., visited

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* See *Works*, vol. xvi. p. 345.

Glasgow, and after careful inquiry as to the state of matters in St. John's, drew up a report, from which we take the following extract:—"This system has been attended with the most triumphant success; it is now in perfect operation, and not a doubt is expressed by its managers of its continuing to remain so. * * Its chief virtue seems to consist in the closer investigation which each new case of pauperism receives, by which means the parish is prevented from being imposed on; and as it is well known by the poor that this severe scrutiny is never omitted, attempts at imposition are less frequently practised. The laxity of the old management and utility of this investigation may be exemplified by what occurred when it was first put in practice. As all the St. John's sessional poor were closely examined, it was thought unfair not to bring their out-door hospital poor, which the old system had left, to the same scrutiny, when it was discovered that many persons were receiving relief who had no claim to it, and who were consequently instantly struck off the roll. One man was found in the receipt of a weekly allowance who had eight workmen under him. * * * In spite, however, of this success, the lovers of the old system still oppose the new as keenly as ever, and there seems to be as much difference of opinion in Glasgow at present respecting its merits as when it was first established. Amid these conflicting statements, it would be presumptuous in a stranger to give an opinion, except so far as it is drawn from facts, and these, it seems, are all in favour of it. * * * The essence of the St. John's management consists in the superior system of inspection which it establishes; this is brought about by causing the applicants for aid to address themselves, in the first instance, to persons of station and character, whose sole parochial duty consists in examining into their condition, and who are always ready to pay a kind attention to their complaints. This personal attention of the rich to the poor seems to be one of the most efficient modes of preventing pauperism. It is a subject of perpetual complaint, that the poor do not receive the charities of the rich with gratitude. The reason of this appears to be, that the donation of a few shillings from a rich man to a poor man is no subtraction from the giver's comforts, and consequently is no proof of his interest in the other's welfare. If the rich give their time to the poor, they part with a commodity which the poor see is valuable to the givers, and consequently esteem the attention the more, as it implies an interest in their prosperity; and a feeling seems to be engendered in their minds of unwillingness to press on the kindness of those who thus prove themselves ready to sympathize with them in distress, and to do their utmost to relieve it. This feeling acts as a spur to the exertions of the poor; their efforts to depend on their own resources are greater, and consequently the chance of their becoming dependent on the bounty of others less."*

But though sufficient to elicit such a testimony from a stranger, thirteen years' experience of its success was not sufficient to obtain for this system the countenance and support of the civic authorities of Glasgow. From the very outset of the enterprise, there were two conditions laid down by Dr. Chalmers as essential to final and permanent success. The first was, that a law of residence should be established between the different parishes of the city. The equity of this was apparent, as otherwise a parish might to a great extent become burdened with a pauperism which it had done nothing to create. The second condition was, that a parish which had ceased to receive from the assessment fund should be no longer forced to contribute to it; and in the case at least of such parishes as (like St. John's) saved the fund far more than they yielded to it, the equity of this condition was equally clear. Though urgently pressed, neither of these conditions was acceded to. The St. John's deaconry were burdened with a load not of their own making, which it was peculiarly irksome to bear; and their parish, having cost the city nothing for so many years, had to contribute its share to the central fund. The required conditions remaining unfulfilled, all public countenance being withheld, their expenditure for lunatics and exposed children growing upon them at a much greater rate than the population of their parish, and the funds of a chapel with which their pauper management was implicated falling into an unprosperous condition, it did not surprise Dr. Chalmers, that the managers of St. John's should finally, in 1837, have voluntarily relinquished their office, and suffered their parish to lapse into the general system of Glasgow. That intelligent and devoted member of this management* to whom in later years, and after long experience of his ability and zeal, Dr. Chalmers was in the habit of specially referring in all matters connected with St. John's, informed him "that as the scheme did not receive the countenance which we all thought it well deserved, both from the authorities and the sessions generally, we were discouraged, and did give it up. At the same time, we were all satisfied that it was a scheme quite practicable even in St. John's, increased as it was in population from 8000 to 12,000, and had proved this to a demonstration after eighteen years' experience." It did, however, both surprise and grieve Dr. Chalmers exceedingly, to find that under such circumstances the voluntary relinquishment of an enterprise, hampered and discouraged throughout, should be publicly held up and generally regarded as a conspicuous evidence of its failure; and that those whose very want of faith in its success had contributed so largely to the relinquishment should plead that relinquishment as a justification of their want of faith. It endured, through all vicissitudes, for eighteen years. The accounts of its receipts and disbursements throughout this period show that its whole expenditure on pauperism was upwards of a thousand pounds less than the produce of the church-door collections; that if the expense for lunatics and foundlings and illegitimate children and the families of runaway parents be deducted, the balance in favour of the experiment amounts to upwards of £2000; that never in any year was there a pauper expenditure higher than at the rate of £50 for each thousand, and that the average expenditure for the eighteen years was at the rate of £30 for each thousand of the population. I shall have occasion hereafter to refer to the general question of poor-laws and pauper management, but I cannot close this account of the triumphant experiment of St. John's, without saying, that if Glasgow had but received the lesson which upwards of thirty years ago was given to her—had she promoted the scheme which was executed under her own eyes, and within her own domain—had those feeble imitations of the operations of St. John's which were commenced in others of her parishes, been fostered into maturity, instead of being allowed, as they were, to wither into decay and extinction—had her unwieldy parishes been broken up, and her intelligent citizens been invited, under public patronage, to follow in the track which the deaconry of Dr. Chalmers had opened up—the cost of her present pauperism, instead of the enormous sum of £120,000, might have stood at the moderate sum of £12,000*—more than £100,000 a year would have been saved to her, whilst her poor would have been better cared for; and her citizens, engaged to such extent in kindly offices among them, would have linked all classes of her community together in closer and blander ties. The instructive example, however, was not followed. A policy directly the reverse of that counselled by Dr. Chalmers was pursued—the voluntary mode of exercising charity was discountenanced—the legalized mode of enforcing it was favoured, till the assessed finally swallowed up all the unassessed parishes. The different boards established under the recent Poor-Law have diligently carried out the principle and spirit of that Act, with the result, that during the last ten years the cost of pauperism has increased in a twenty-fold higher ratio than the population,* amounting for one year to the enormous sum of £150,000. In the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1822, when engaged in his first public explanation and defence of St. John's operations, and when threatened with a measure which would have driven him back upon his course, Dr. Chalmers said, "Do with the first adventurer what you will—order him back again to the place from which he had departed—compel his bark out of its present secure and quiet landing-place, or let her be scuttled if you so choose, and sunk to the bottom; still, not to magnify our doings, but to illustrate them, we must remind you that the discovery survives the loss of the discovery ship; for if discovery it must be called, the discovery has been made—a safe and easy navigation has been ascertained from the charity of law to the charity of kindness; and, therefore, be it now reviled, or be it now disregarded as it may, we have no doubt upon our spirits, whether we look to the depraving pauperism or to the burdened agriculture of our land, that the

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* For the remainder of Mr. Tufnell's most interesting Report, see Dr. Chalmers's *Works*, vol. xvi. pp. 437-444.

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* William Buchanan, Esq.

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* Estimating the present population of Glasgow at 400,000, and taking the rate at which, for eighteen years, the poor were supported in St. John's—namely, £30 per 1000 of the population—the whole expenditure would amount to £12,000. The actual expenditure, supposing it to be reduced to £100,000, is at the rate of £250 for each thousand.

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* Dr. R. Buchanan, after giving the cost of pauperism in Glasgow as it stood in 1840 and 1849, adds, "It thus appears, that while the population had increased between August 1840 and May 1849 about 20 per cent., the cost of pauperism had, during the same interval, increased about 430 per cent."—*The Schoolmaster in the Wynds; or, How to Educate the Masses.* Glasgow, 1850.

days are soon coming when men, looking for a way of escape from these sore evils, will be glad to own our enterprise and be fain to follow it."*

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* See *Works*, vol. xvi. p. 154. For full information upon the subject of this Chapter the reader is referred to Dr. Chalmers's Speech before the Assembly of 1822, and particularly to its Appendix. See *Works*, vol. xvi. pp. 145-216.—"Statement in Regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, from the Experience of the last eight years, first published in 1823." See *Works*, vol. xvi. pp. 217-284.—Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the subject of a Poor-Law for Ireland. See *Works*, vol. xvi. pp. 312-378.—Reflections of 1839 on the now protracted Experience of Pauperism in Glasgow. *Works*, vol. xvi. pp. 422-444; see also vol. xv. chap. xii., and vol. xxi. sect. iv.

CHAPTER XIV.

PUBLICATION OF A VOLUME OF SERMONS, AND OF THE "CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS"—ADDRESS TO HIS AGENCY IN OCTOBER 1821—VISIT OF KING GEORGE IV. TO SCOTLAND IN AUGUST 1822—THE LANDING AT LEITH PIER—ENTHUSIASTIC LOYALTY OF DR. CHALMERS—TOUR THROUGH ENGLAND IN SEARCH OF INFORMATION AS TO THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF ITS POOR-LAW ADMINISTRATION—INTERCOURSE WITH LORD CALTHORPE, MR. WILBERFORCE, MR. CLARKSON, MR. MALTHUS, ETC.—SUDDEN DEATH OF MR. BROWN—RETURN TO GLASGOW.

AMID all the urgency of these parochial labours, the press was actively employed. In November 1820, a volume of sermons was published, "On the Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life." Concurrently with the commencement of the St. John's ministry, a series of quarterly publications on the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns" began to be issued, and was sustained in unbroken order till Dr. Chalmers's removal to St. Andrews. These papers were devoted to the exposition of the very measures which he was then carrying into accomplishment; so that at this period he presents himself to us in the unique and compound character of the skilful deviser, the vigorous conductor, and the eloquent defender of his own schemes of Christian usefulness. We scarcely know to which of the three—the wisdom of his counsel, the energy of his action, or the eloquence of his exposition—the palm should be awarded. The rare exhibition of three such qualities, each so high in its degree, all working at once and for the one object, excites unbounded admiration. There was an instance in ancient times of the general who planned the campaign, and who personally presided over its conduct, becoming afterwards its best historian; but it was while he was in the very heat and tumult of his bustling enterprise that Dr. Chalmers carried on continuously his narrative; so that it might almost be said that he was doing the work with the one hand while he was describing it with the other. The weight, however, of the conjunct operation soon became too heavy for him, and he sought a partial relief. In October 1821, having invited his agency to meet him in the church, he addressed them in the following terms:—

"I beg leave, in the first instance, to explain my general purpose in calling you together. You are well acquainted with the power and the charm that I have ever been in the habit of associating with locality—how I regard this, in fact, as the only principle on which a crowded town can be brought under a right or efficient system of management—that by the adoption of this principle the population of a city would be in as fair circumstances for becoming Christian and moral and civilized as the population of any country parish—that there is a wide and open door for entrance among the families themselves, insomuch that if any Christian philanthropist should assume a district to himself, and give his time and his attentions to those who reside within its limits, and cultivate an acquaintance with them, founded on good-will to our brethren of the species, and the desire in any way to be of service to their interests, it is found that there will scarcely a shut door or a shut heart be ever met in the prosecution of such an enterprise as this, affording therefore free scope for all the undertakings of him whose heart deviseth liberal things, and securing that most encouraging of all outsets to the work and the labour of love, even the almost universal welcome of a thankful and a cordial population

"I was indeed so convinced of this when I first came to Glasgow, about six years ago, that I longed from the very commencement for a parish as separated as possible from the general town, and where I could reiterate my visits in the same houses and on the same families without the distraction of city business, or the interminable calls for ministerial attention from the people who resided without the limits of the parochial territory. I succeeded in a great measure in this object, and thought that, by incessant personal labour, I should be sure to achieve what I had so long been desirous of, the condition of being the personal acquaintance of all the parishioners, an object which I thought might be generally accomplished by the perseverance of a busy routine among the sick and the dying, and all others who called for the attention of their minister upon Christian grounds; being resolved as you well know, to disembarrass myself from the whole charge and concern of secularities, and become exclusively a spiritual labourer in the midst of those who had any value or professed any desire for having services of that description administered to them.

"The design was in the abstract good and unexceptionable, but the execution has fallen miserably short of the design. I can now experimentally say, that it is an undertaking much beyond the strength of any single individual; and as the fruit of much observation and of many actual trials upon this subject, I have come to the conclusion that instead of nine thousand, which is the population of our parish, that perhaps three thousand form a manageable and a desirable extent, throughout which a laborious and hard-working minister might make his exertions and his ascendency as much felt in a city as it were competent for him to do in the general run of the country parishes of Scotland.

"You will also, I trust, concede to me a peculiar indulgence from the consideration that in one respect I stand a little distinct from the mere pastor of a parish. You know that, whether to good or to ill account, I have fallen into the habit of devoting a good deal of time and strength to the exertions of authorship. I think that three thousand is an overtakable number in a city for one who gives himself up exclusively to the labours of a practical clergyman; but I do assure you, that when one has got into a tract of literary publication, and finds himself, from the encouragement of any usefulness, whether real or imaginary, induced to persevere in this, that he would have very little time to do full justice even to three thousand, and that perhaps the preparations of the pulpit and the press were enough to engross his faculties, without such a straining and pressure upon them as might serve to hasten their decay, and bring them at length to a speedy and premature extinction altogether.

"I can assure you, that I know not a more effectual method of making one's earthly existence most painfully harassing and uncomfortable than by associating an excess of missionary with an excess of mental labour, than by combining in one person a jaded body with an exhausted spirit. One species of fatigue may be endured, but both together are insufferable; and when both kinds of service are attempted in too high a degree, the quality of both will be most essentially deteriorated.

"The question with me has been long in agitation, which of the two I should surrender. By giving up the one, I sacrifice the favourite object of a parochial acquaintanceship, extending over the field of that vineyard the care of which has been assigned me by Providence. By giving up the other, I must not only dilute my pulpit preparations, but bid adieu to the labours of authorship; and I have resolved, in the choice of two evils, to devote myself more assiduously than before to the cares and exertions of a mere student, and to abandon to a great degree the parish as an unprotected orphan to the care and the charity of other labourers.

"I should like you, however, to understand what the precise extent is to which I shall find this abandonment to be necessary. I used to make regular monthly and quarterly rounds among all the sick and dying of the parish: I shall give up the rounds, but will go to any patient that requires my services,—and the channel through which he will require it, generally speaking, will be by the elder of his proportion. I shall also, if possible, continue to go through all the houses of the parish in two years, and invite each proportion to a week-day evening address; and another very important approximation to the people which I would never like to forget, as affording, perhaps, the finest opportunity for Christian usefulness to the most interesting sort of parochial group that occurs in the annals of the parish—I should like to make attendance on the parish funeral take the precedence of all other duties and engagements whatever.

"Now, my brethren, I am somewhat ashamed of the egotism in which I have indulged, and with which, I fear, you may be thinking that I have detained you a great deal too long,—I therefore hasten to the practical application of all these remarks. There is a way in which the parish, instead of a loser, would become a gainer by the resolution that I have now announced to you. There is a way in which the whole benefit and influence of locality might be realized among its populace to an extent that would greatly multiply the good which it were in the power of any single individual to accomplish;—in a word, what he cannot do in his own person may be done twenty or thirty or a hundred-fold by deputation; and I have had too much experience of the zeal and the acceptableness of your services to doubt, my friends, that if you approve of the step which necessity has laid upon me, you will study, each within his own sphere, to render to the families a greatly overpassing compensation for the services which I withdraw from them."

Prosecuting his series of quarterly publications, Dr. Chalmers had advanced so far, that in the spring of 1822 he had fully entered on the great question of pauperism. After discussing this subject in its Scottish aspects and bearings, he meant to deal with it in reference to the condition and prospects of England. Feeling, however, that his information was too limited to allow of anything like an adequate treatment of it, he resolved to make a tour of inspection through a number of the English counties, and, by inquiries conducted on the spot, to become his own Commissioner; but this tour was postponed for a week or two by a public event in which he took the profoundest interest. Some months before King George IV. landed on the Scottish shores, he wrote to Mr. Wilberforce,—"We are looking for the royal visit, and it is my decided opinion that the best political effects will follow from it. I wish you had access to the royal ear on the subject of the King's route, for I am sure if he miss Glasgow it will be deeply felt as a stigma by the whole population. There was a most unfortunate advice given to Prince Leopold when in this neighbourhood, and that was, to avoid Glasgow because of the Radicalism which was then in full fermentation amongst us. Little do they know of our nature who do not calculate on the efficacy of that charm which lies in the condescension of superiors. It delights me to think that, after all, monarchy is so congenial to man, that the monarch has simply to show himself, and have a tolerable character, and he is sure of the honest welcome and cordiality of all his subjects. It will be quite marked if the King visit the Duke of Montrose and do not visit Glasgow; and, on the other hand, should he visit our city, he may walk through the most Radical streets of it, and be hailed with acclamations from all the occupiers. It would positively put us all into temper and tranquillity for many years to come.—P.S. What I write respecting the King is from a real desire to promote a great public and patriotic good in this city and neighbourhood." It was soon known that the King's visit was to be restricted to the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and as the day approached on which he was expected at Leith, such crowds of strangers poured into the Scottish metropolis, that, in defect of accommodation, tents, in which hundreds were content to sleep, were raised on Salisbury Crags. On the 5th August, Dr. Chalmers wrote to Mrs. Chalmers, then living at Fairley, who was to accompany him into Edinburgh:—"There still hangs an uncertainty over the most probable time of the King's landing, but I do think it safe to postpone the movement till Monday the 12th, and far more convenient. In this case, I do not think that you should move till Saturday, and I shall make my projected visit to Daldowie on the Friday, and return on the Saturday, so as to meet this arrangement; and I would recommend our taking Anne to Edinburgh. Her school-fellow, Miss Ramsay, is to be taken by Miss Crombie. It is a sight that will leave an indelible impression upon young people, and, should they be spared, may be their talk and their triumph fifty years hence, when we are asleep in the dust. Mr. Gibson was with us this day at breakfast, and there could not, you will allow, be a better hand for conveying to us the whole state and hubbub and enthusiasm of Edinburgh on this great occasion, in which he fully participates."

Edinburgh had not seen royalty in state since the days of our ancient monarchs, and under the guidance of Sir Walter Scott she stirred herself up to give to the King who now came to Holyrood a right loyal welcome. The first and perhaps the finest burst of her loyalty was given at the King's landing. Soon after midday, on Wednesday the 14th August, borne forward by a gentle but steady breeze, the royal squadron entered Leith Roads, and amid salvos of artillery and the cheers of congregated myriads, the royal yacht came to anchor off the pier. The day, however, proved unfavourable, torrents of rain descended, and the landing was postponed till the following day. That day rose bright upon a city well fitted for the picturesque and magnificent processions which her streets witnessed during the royal fortnight.

"*Leith Pier, Thursday,* 18*th August, twelve o'clock.*"—We quote now from a letter written on the spot, and as the events evolved.—"A gun has just been fired from the royal squadron, as a signal that his Majesty has left the yacht, and the bells of Leith have struck up a merry peal. Leith Fort and the vessels of war in the Roads are thundering away; Edinburgh Castle and every gun on the surrounding heights responding. Never was there such a sight as is now before us; anxiety is at its height, and the people on the pier are with difficulty persuaded to keep their seats, notwithstanding the danger of confusion, to such a degree are the feelings excited. The King is off the end of the pier in his barge with the royal flag flying, with sixteen rowers. He is now advanced half-way along the pier. The air rings with acclamations, and the cheers of his assembled subjects seem to be most grateful to him." And among all the cheers which rent the air as he passed along, there was not one which came from a heart more full of chivalrous loyalty than that which issued from the platform where Dr. Chalmers and his wife and little daughter were standing. "The burst of enthusiasm," says one who was standing at the moment by his side, "with which he hailed his sovereign's approach was tremendous. 'Well done—honest fellow—God bless him! Is not monarchy,' he added, turning round to me, 'congenial to our nature?' In one of the Royal processions through Edinburgh he was much annoyed that louder demonstrations of loyalty did not break forth from all around him, and turning impatiently to the person next him, he exclaimed, 'Why, Sir, you are not half vociferous enough.' Some curiosity having been manifested as to who should preach in the High Church on the occasion of the King's attendance there, Wilkie* asked him whether Principal Baird, who had a habit of crying (*Scotice*—greeting) in the pulpit, was to preach. 'Why,' said Dr. Chalmers, 'I do not know; but if he does, it will be George Baird to George Rex, *greeting*.'"

After witnessing the processions and attending at the levee in Holyrood House, Dr. Chalmers returned to Glasgow, and soon after set out upon that tour of which the following records are presented to the reader:—

"CUMNOCK, *September 2d*, 1822.

"MY EVER DEAREST GRACE,—Was a little too soon at the coach. It takes in four only, and was full inside; an elderly gentlewoman, a young lady going to spend her boarding-school vacation in the country, Major ——, and myself. He upon the whole interesting. Lost his wife three years ago in India in childbed. Both mother and child died, and he, left without a family, travels for the dissipation of his melancholy. He never knew your brother, and his introduction to me is founded on the single circumstance that he lodged for three weeks in the same quarters after he had left them; a tolerably slender argument, you will allow, but I feel pleased and affected by him, with no other drawback than a disagreeably drawling voice, which he exercises, too, pretty freely. He is just now going all the way to Hereford, within thirty miles of Gloucester, for the purpose of attending an oratorio in that place next week,—a pretty strong proof of his affection for music. We did not breakfast till we reached Kilmarnock, a distance of twenty-two miles. There was a number of outside passengers, among whom was the brother of the young lady, who turned out afterwards to be the Laird of Dalswinton, formerly the property of Thomas Miller's father. We dined at Sanquhar, and reached Dumfries after eight o'clock. It was on the whole a good day, and the Nith was in all its glory. It recalled the former period of five years back, when you and I and John Smith went over the same track in a post-chaise. Drumlanrig Castle on the opposite side of the river stood forth in great majesty. On reaching Dumfries I found Dr. Thomas Duncan, his brother Henry of Ruthwell, whom you have seen, and Mr. Clyde, waiting me at the inn. They explained the arrangements of to-morrow, and I left them with Mr. Clyde for Mr. Inglis, who, though above eighty, is still marvellously well. The Misses Inglis expressed great disappointment at not seeing you. I had to conduct family worship before supper, and had a very pleasant little family party of themselves alone. Mrs. Clyde was not with us. I ought to have mentioned that I read a good deal in the coach, of the Bible and Cunninghame's Sermons, and lastly a large pamphlet by Mr. Davison on the Poor-Laws. The females left us within a few miles of Dumfries, and I ventured on a close and firm appeal to Major —— about his griefs, and his feelings, and his prospects. I was favoured to be free and faithful with him, and he professed, and I believe felt, the utmost gratitude at my explanations. I believe that we are greatly too timid and reserved on the topic of Christianity, and I have often found a gratifying result from being open and intrepid about it. This day's history is an example of it. The Major was disappointed in not getting on to Carlisle this evening, so I left him at the inn.

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* Sir David Wilkie.—*See Memoir of W. Collins, R.A.*, vol. i. p. 208.

" *Tuesday.*—Mr. Clyde and I went forth at nine to Dr. Duncan's, where we breakfasted with a party. Mr. Henry Duncan there, Provost Kerr, the present chief magistrate, Mr. Armstrong, treasurer of the kirk-session, Major ——, and, lastly, Miss Goldie, who knew your brother and inquired about him.

I put my questioning powers upon their full exercise; Miss Goldie is very sensible indeed, and, upon the whole, I have gotten most satisfactory information in this place. Preached in one of the churches to an audience that comfortably and without squeezing filled it, the multitude being repressed by a previous intimation that nothing less than silver would be received. The collection was seventy pounds. I had some introductions afterwards. There were eleven established clergy there, besides a number of dissenting ministers. Went afterwards to the poor-house, where I had a conference with the dignitaries, and got all the information I wanted. I also inspected the establishment, and took in a powerful impression from my sight of the aged and orphan inmates. Then went to Mr. Inglis's, where I wrote and packed up for half an hour, and took lunch with them. Mr. Duncan of Ruthwell came with his gig to me after two, for the purpose of taking me out to his manse, which takes me forward about eight miles. I left the Inglises with a feeling of great mutual cordiality, and have the utmost veneration and love for the old gentleman, whose affection on the other hand for me would fain have led him to kiss me both at meeting and parting, a catastrophe which I by coyness and good management had the good fortune however to avoid on both occasions. Got on to Ruthwell after four. I again preached at half-past five to a well filled church. The congregation of a very interesting moral aspect. After tea called on Mr. Duncan's mother, who lives in an elegant cottage which Mr. Duncan has raised upon his premises. She is a fine old lady, and an aunt of Mr. Duncan lives along with her. He has forty acres of glebe, and out of it has assumed a policy of five or six acres around his house, which he has transformed from a moor into a very beautiful and gentlemanly pleasure ground, consisting of gardens, lake, and a number of well-disposed trees. Had an hour before supper to wind up my narrative and letters. Obtained most satisfactory information from Mr. Duncan, and threw myself into bed between twelve and one. I should have mentioned that I was asked by the magistrates to dine, which I could not do, but at eight I received a letter from the Provost inclosing a burgess ticket which they had meant to give me after dinner. It was exceedingly handsome to send this mark of distinction ten miles after me.

"*4th.*—Started about seven. Wrote a little. Got into the gig with Mr. Duncan at eight. Rode to Mount Annan, the seat of General Dirom, where we had been invited to breakfast. A very great company there, and among others Mr. R——, Rector of Liverpool. He is an important acquisition to me. He befriends locality and district schools. I left pamphlets with him and the General. Got out to Annan at twelve, where, agreeably to our arrangement of yesterday, I met with my old friend Major ——, and hired a post-chaise along with him to Carlisle. Called at Annan on Mr. Irving's father and sister for a few minutes ; took leave of Henry Duncan ; parted with the Major at Carlisle after giving him a letter to Mr. Gipps of Hereford. Reached Mr. F.'s after three. Thought there was a great deal of stiffness and coldness and reserve at first, but it all wore off in the evening, and I ascribe a great deal of this in England to mere shyness. Met here with most satisfactory information from Mr. N——. A crowd of other people here also. Received satisfactory letters from Kendal and Liverpool, and all looks promising thus far on. I was introduced here to a number of religious characters ; and came up to my bed-room at eleven, where I wrought at winding up my narrative, and finished a little after twelve.

"*Thursday.*—Started at six. Packed and prepared for my departure at seven. Got breakfast previously at Mr. Fawcett's. Had the coach to myself till I came to Shap, where a young man whose friends are in Glasgow came in, who knew me, and two ladies beside. It was a famous coach. I read a good deal at Cunninghame's Sermons, and a pamphlet on the Poor-Laws. Reached Kendal between one and two. I have prospered to my uttermost wish in Kendal. I had a letter to Mr. Gandy of this place from Mr. Walkinshaw, who had been kind enough to write him besides by post, and he called, insisting that I should dine with his brother and lodge with him. He first took me to the work-house, where I saw much and got most satisfactory information, then to his own house, where I met with the mayor, recorder, and overseer of Kendal, with Mr. Crewdson, a Quaker, from which gentleman I obtained most kind and satisfactory answers to my queries. Crewdson struck me as a most admirable fellow both on the score of principle and good sense. Then dined at the other Mr. Gandy's, where there was a very superior company, consisting I should imagine of the best society in the place. Among others Mr. Christopher Wilson, banker, with £10,000 a year, a great landed proprietor, a magistrate, and most intimately and intelligently acquainted with pauperism. I left them, to drink tea with Mr. Crewdson, and I had very great pleasure for two hours in the bosom of this interesting and well regulated Quaker family. Went back to Mr. John Gandy, with whom I stopped all night. His lady is indeed remarkably good looking, and of very pleasing and cultivated manners withal. I am much pleased with my doings at Kendal, and have accumulated a great deal of substantial information.

"*Friday.*—Got into the coach at seven. Had a long journey of seventy-six miles to Liverpool. Employed most of my time in reading, and finished 'Courtenay on the Poor-Laws.' The coach mostly full. A man from Mr. Hope stopped and inquired for me on our entrance into Liverpool. I went out and landed at Everton, where Mr. Hope lives, after eight at night—Dr. Barr and Mr. Mejunel, a French minister, there before me, Miss Hope whom you may have seen also there. I requested an hour of my bedroom before supper, where I got comfortably forward with my various writings. On being called down again I was ushered into a most select and genial society, consisting of Dr. Pye Smith of Homerton, Dr. Raffles of this place, and Dr. Barr. Dr. Smith has chalked out for me a most admirable arrangement when I go to London: he is an Independent minister in one of its suburbs. Tell Mr. Collins that I have got his letter inclosing one for Dr. Robertson of Warrington, and that nothing can exceed the kindness and rational hospitality, and above all, perfect arrangements of Mr. Hope on my behalf. He has laid down all the meetings for me at Liverpool with very great judgment and regard for my substantial comfort, and I do feel exceedingly well served and obliged by all his attentions."

"MANCHESTER, *September* 9*th*, 1822.

"*Saturday.*—Started between six and seven in Mr. Hope's. Wrote a good deal before breakfast, which we had at half-past eight. Mr. James Cropper, a Quaker there, a most respectable and intelligent man, with whom I had a most delightfully interesting conversation. He talked, and I took short-hand notes, and this went on among ladies and tea-cups and plates of buttered toast The thing that charms me in Liverpool is the business rapidity and distinctness wherewith all my interviews and queries are gone through. Miss —— obtruded her reports upon me, which are good in their season; but I have no room for any thing at present but pauperism. * * * At half-past nine Mr. Cropper, Mr. Hope, and I, went down in the family car to Liverpool, where I took short-hand notes of a conversation with Mr. Ellis and Mr. Hardeman, and am now quite ripe on the pauperism of Liverpool. Tell this to Mr. Collins, as it will interest him. I then called on Mr. Gladstone, who is mainly unintelligent upon the subject; but it is good to have the kindness of Members of Parliament on your side, whether you have their understandings or not. Mr. Gladstone I hold to be a most sensible and judicious person, but so manifoldly engrossed with other topics as not to have turned the powers of his gifted and vigorous mind to this one in particular. I then called on Charles Parker, who kindly accompanied me in all my future Liverpool excursions. * * * A little before two I got into the coach for Manchester. * * * I reached Mr. Daniel Grant's of Manchester about seven, and found Mr. Dalgleish there with a letter from you. Did you know, my dearest G., the pleasure which a communication from you, however short, is at all times sure to administer, you would write me frequently. I am thankful for your tidings of comfort and prosperity at home: God grant that undisturbed peace and affection may ever dwell amongst us, and that our dear children may rise around us and call us blessed. I was not long at Manchester before I smelt a design against me to preach; and as I had to go to Nuttle and preach there on the morrow, the first suggestion was that I should preach in Manchester on the Tuesday. But I had so decidedly resolved against all week-day sermons in England, that rather than this very obnoxious arrangement I forfeited my prospect of a quiet domestic Sabbath in the country, and consented to take Manchester on the Sabbath evening.

"*Sunday.*—Preached to a full congregation in Mr. Roby's chapel at half-past six. I was not worse of my exertion. In the vestry I was introduced to a number of the dignitaries in the place. Robert Tennent, Mr. Hugh's son, I had great pleasure in meeting. We supped at nine, with a considerable party, in Mr. D. Grant's, where I live, and I threw myself into bed at eleven. * * * I should have mentioned an amusing enough circumstance in the coach from Liverpool to Manchester. An old gentleman eyed me with great curiosity, which at length passed into the complacent smile of a conscious and confident discovery. After an interval of many minutes' observation and cunning scrutiny, he first asked me if I was from Glasgow, and my affirmative answer served him with food for his satisfaction a little longer. He then ventured to ask if my name was Chalmers. On my replying aright thereunto, he told me that he was quite sure of it, though he had never seen myself, for in 'Peter's Letters' he had seen my picture; which I said was the best account of the picture that I had heard, for it was generally thought to be an execrable one. However, I got immediately into the best possible terms with all present, and the cordiality was kept up during the whole of my journey.

"*Monday.*—Rose between seven and eight. Breakfasted between eight and nine. I am much behind in my writings, both as to letters and as to the extending of my short-hand conversations at the various places. I have therefore secured part of this forenoon from all intrusion as well as I can. Mr. James Alexander, however, of Glasgow, is here, and he called after breakfast, with his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Bannerman; and then, after retiring from them, there came in a deputation of Methodist ministers, requesting a sermon on Tuesday. I got pleasantly quit of them; and Mr. Dalgleish, who is really most attentive to me, is determined that I shall have no interruption till one, at which hour any who call are to call back again. I have thus been enabled to finish a letter to Jane, another to Mr. Cropper of Liverpool, and a third to Mr. Robertson of Glasgow, and furthermore, to carry forward my Journal from the beginning of this sheet to the point at which I now stand;—and I just hear the door-bell ringing. Mr. Tweddel, and Mr. Burns, a Methodist preacher, called—the latter I did not know. Went out with the former and Mr. Dalgleish, first to a conference with Mr. Murritt, a magistrate, and two others, from whom I got information respecting an outer township—then to Mr. Brierly, the boroughreeve of Manchester, who in conjunction with others gave me all the requisite information about Manchester—then dined with Mr. Tweddel, in company with Mr. Holt and others—then at night went to Salford. At this point Mr. Dalgleish left us. Thomas Potter and the boroughreeve of Salford, with ten or twelve of the select vestry, gave me all the particulars of that township. Mr. Norris is not at home. Returned to Mr. Tweddel's after tea, and stopped there all night. Mr. Tweddel seems to me a mild, elegant, and on the whole a very cultivated man, with a kind of literary retreat, and of literary habits, and I feel very much interested in him. I went to bed between twelve and one.

"*Tuesday.*—This rather a day of whirl and confusion, and most unfortunately ceremony and invitations and calls are beginning to mix with my objects, and sadly to impede them. I am glad of the present interval between two and three to enable me to bring up my Journal thus far. An immense party of citizens came to dinner, among whom I had particular enjoyment in Mr. Brierly, the boroughreeve of Manchester, and a Mr. Dalton, who lives here, and is the most philosophical chemist in the island—a Quaker, of great simplicity and profound science. We had speechifying after dinner, in which I bore part. All Mr. Grant's brothers were present, along with Mrs. Grant and her father Mr. Dalgleish. He has been most attentive to me: came from Glasgow at this particular time upon my account, and even offered to accompany me to Birmingham. This I would on no account hear of. The party sat up most unconscionably late, insomuch that it was one o'clock ere I got to bed.

"*Wednesday.*—I reached Birmingham at five in the evening. Found Mr. Knott waiting me at the inn—and more than he, Mr. Hunter from Gloucester, and his brother, who together made, if you recollect, the long call upon us in the forenoon of the day that we went down to Fairley. We all went off in a hackney coach to Mr. Knott's, where they remained an hour or two, and I spent the night. Mr. B., Mr. Knott's partner, and three other citizens of Birmingham, came in and passed under my questioning process. I have been treated with much kindness here. Mrs. Knott and her mother very domestic and motherly people; but nothing can exceed the trouble that Mr. Hunter's brother has been at in this matter. He lives near Warwick, and came in his own carriage, and went out this day to Darlaston, in order to obtain Mr. Lowe, the clergyman, to meet with me, and takes me to-morrow to Worcester, along with his brother the clergyman, who is still in bad health and at large from his parish. I have furthermore had the most satisfactory letters from Mr. Davies, the clergyman of Worcester, relative to the arrangements that he is making for me in that place.

"I fear that all this bustle is not very consistent with the habit of spirituality, and that it even engrosses too much of our correspondence. Oh, my dear G., let us think of life, with all its vanities and sorrows, as coming speedily to its close, and let us labour for the meat that endureth. I endeavour to lift myself up at times unto God; and sure I am that out of Him all is treacherous here and wretched through eternity. My mind has, within these two years, been sadly agitated and exercised, and yet I cannot but trust that out of its many conflicts and sore distressful processes of thought and feeling, the peaceable fruit of righteousness will at length, by the favour of a righteous and merciful God, be made to arise. Do give me your kind communications on my journey through England, and let me know of yourself and my dear children. Give a kiss to each of them from me, and lay it upon them to fear God and to keep His commandments. Oh! that He would put His fear more and more within us, and deliver us from that evil heart of unbelief by which it is that we depart from the living God. Give my compliments to my aunt and Helen. I now expect to be at Pudhill in two days, and have the prospect before me of tolerable ease for five or six days."

"GLOUCESTER, *September* 13*th*, 1822.

"*Thursday.*—Started at seven; wrote at the extension of my notes; had a numerous party to breakfast, among whom were Lord Calthorpe, brother to the gentleman that breakfasted with us several days, the Rev. Mr. Spooner, brother-in-law to Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. James of Birmingham, and the Rev. Mr. Lowe of Darlaston, with whom I had most interesting conversation on the subject of his parish pauperism.* Lord Calthorpe made an arrangement with me that will take effect in a subsequent part of my journey. After they went off, Mr. Knott and others moved along with me through Birmingham, where I visited the Charity Workhouse, and made a call or two; then came back to an early dinner at Mr. Knott's, along with the two Mr. Hunters, of whom I wrote in my last letter. They are truly extravagant in their kindness. The brother at Leamington has a carriage, and they insisted on conducting me in it to Worcester, which is twenty-six miles. Thither then we drove, and arrived after seven. We all then called on Mr. Davies, clergyman. There was a great posse of friends and neighbour ministers assembled to receive me, and I expatiated among them on pauperism, as well as conducted family worship. I was pressed to my bed that was in readiness for me, but I would not leave my friends, and so insisted on going back to the inn, well pleased with the opportunity of showing off my independence on the journey, an exhibition of which as yet I had had no opportunity. We all took supper together, and I, after writing and extending my notes, went to bed about twelve.

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* See *Works*, vol. xv. p. 141.

" *Friday.*—Started at seven. Went out to breakfast at Mr. Davies's: a minister from the country there whom I questioned well about pauperism, and two clerical young men. After breakfast held parley with some of the official gentlemen of the place, and had, indeed, a most lucid and satisfying conversation with them. Then had an excursion through the town to the Cathedral, where we ascended the tower, and had a most brilliant panorama all around. The Severn, with its wooded and fertile banks, formed the leading feature of this glorious scene. It was a most brilliant day, and altogether the place and the people are very dear to me. Mr. Davies a most pious and simple-hearted Christian, and his wife of a spirit altogether kindred to his own. I am treated with great kindness, and a distinction that is really too much. We had an early dinner, and I left Worcester at two. I here took leave of the Mr. Hunters, who would have come forward to Gloucester with me had I allowed it. The clergyman is now travelling for his health, and both he and his brother came a great deal out of their way for the sake of showing attention. He is to be in Edinburgh next winter, and, I hope, will take a week with us in Glasgow. The coach from Worcester stopped at Cheltenham, where you once were, you may recollect, previous to your reaching Gloucester. There I was detained half an hour, which I employed in looking about through the streets. Then got into the mail, and reached Gloucester at seven, where I am fairly *inned.* Called on Dr. Barron, and drank tea there. A numerous company waiting me: I had been expected to dinner. The conversation wont take place till to-morrow after breakfast. Several kindred spirits here. I went to the inn about ten; supped. Had letters from Jane and Mr. Irving, the former breathing all the warmth of most delighted and affectionate kindness.

" *Saturday.*—Started at seven. Breakfasted with Dr. Barron.

Had a satisfying conversation with some city gentlemen about the pauperism of Gloucester. Walked about the city. Visited the cloisters that we had done five years ago, and had a brilliant view from the top of the Cathedral tower. Left Gloucester at two. One lady in the coach, who recognised me to be Scotch, talked much of Scotland and its ministers, and at length fairly discovered who I was. She turned out to be from the neighbourhood of Clapham, and appeared to me a person of great worth and piety, though I did not altogether like her request that ere I left the coach I should give her some 'pretty little exhortation.' However, I promised to let her know when I should reach Clapham. Mr. Morton waited my arrival when the coach stopped. Mrs. Morton came out to the garden, and all was cordiality and pleasure. They are very fine children, and the second one particularly well-looking. I had five letters waiting me; one from Dr. Stock, announcing his expectation of me at Bristol, another from Mr. Hale, inviting me to live with him in the neighbourhood of London, another from Rowland Hill, who is now at Wotton-under-Edge, soliciting a visit and a sermon, another from Mr. Collins, which I purpose to answer soon, other two about preaching, and lastly, a letter from Lord Elgin, urging me to call at London on Secretary Peel, and enclosing a letter from Mr. Peel, expressive of the pleasure that he would have in meeting me. After tea I had conversation with the men of three neighbouring parishes, and calls from Mr. Edkins and Mr. Burder. The former came from Swansea when he heard of my intention to preach for him, a distance of upwards of a hundred miles; and I have been *published* by newspaper advertisements and handbills in Gloucester, Cheltenham, &c. You may see me along the roadside by sales of fat cattle, and roups of dung, and all the other items of country information. I had to write a good deal after supper, and went to bed at twelve.

"*Sunday.*—Started at seven; had previously the three young Misses at my bedside. They are exceedingly fond and interested about their uncle. Went to church at half-past ten. There was no afternoon sermon. Walked back to the chapel at five, and preached again in the evening to a lamp-light congregation, more numerous, and, on the whole, more plebeian than in the morning.

"*Monday.*—Started before seven; wrote. I had in the children and heard their repetitions, which I promised to hear yesterday, but they had gone to bed before I arrived. Walked a little out with them before breakfast. Mr. Edkins breakfasted. Sat too for information all forenoon and writing. The plan was, that I should write between calls down stairs, and thus do a deal of business in the presence of the family. This I have completely succeeded in doing. The overseer of Woodchester came in first with his information, and then the overseer of Horsley. I also brought up two days of my conversational notes. Mr. Morton and I made an excursion on horseback connected with the business of my inquiries; he and I went first to K., where we called, by invitation, on Mrs. K., an eminently pious and excellent person I do think, who for several years has been confined to her bed or to the sofa. I had much of kindest conversation with her. Her brother-in-law, Colonel K., is the master of the property, and has a large landed income. On our return we spent an hour or two in the vestry at Horsley, when I felt deeply interested by the business of their monthly meeting, and had the opportunity of witnessing the altercations and ungainly features of English pauperism. People who earn thirty shillings a-week coming with applications—some for rent, others because the wife had taken sick, &c. It was to me a novel but richly edifying scene.

"*Tuesday.*—Got up before six. I took an early breakfast. I prayed with Jane in her bed; she was a little agitated, but she is borne up by the assurance of my speedy return, and this consideration had its effect also on the dear children. Mr. Morton came down to the road with me, and the coach for Bristol took me up a little before seven. We went to Wotton-under-Edge by the same road that we took, you may remember, on our returning from it to Pudhill. The country is in all its glory. Young Mr. Ryland I found in the coach, and he and I were the only inside passengers. I inquired for Mr. Thomson, but he has left Wotton-under-Edge for two years. I left my compliments with his father, who is still here. The coach stopped nearly half an hour, and I spent it with the interesting veteran Rowland Hill, who, it seems, spends his summer months here, and has a chapel of his own for preaching in. Mrs. Hill asked kindly for you. I took a second breakfast, and the old gentleman convoyed me to the coach. We got on to Bristol between eleven and twelve. Mr. Ryland has furnished me with a room, where I have the expectation of writing for two hours ere I sally out to my operations in this place. His father and mother are from home, and I, after finishing this letter, have the prospect of passing a good deal more of writing through my hands.

" Seek God earnestly. Be very sure that Christ's righteousness is unto all who believe. Oh that we had the life and the peace of those who are spiritually minded! Pray for me, and let both of us pray for our dear children. Oh what a fleeting and precarious world! I hope that I have been providentially led into my present inquiries. I am full of hope and encouragement as to the result of them; yet let me not forget the inestimable worth of human souls;* and oh, that God would, by His Spirit, bear down the perpetual ungodliness of my nature. Compliments to Aunt, Helen, and the dear, dear bairns.—Yours very affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

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* "I am greatly engrossed by my arrangements in a new parish to which I have been lately appointed, one collateral effect of which, I am quite confident, will be the overthrow of its pauperism. The public are looking upon this as my only aim, and that I am intent on the prosecution of a mere civic experiment. I can assure you that I look upon pauperism as a disease fostered by artificial

"WELLS, *September 18th*, 1822.

"MY DEAREST GRACE,—I yesterday had a most convenient retreat for writing in Dr. Ryland's house. Dr. Stock and Mr. Crisp at length called. The former urged me to live with him in such a kind and agreeable way, that I neither could nor did I feel inclined to refuse him. Walked to his house with Mr. Crisp from Dr. Ryland's, a distance of about a mile and a half, leaving my luggage with Mr. Ryland, that he should take care to see it in time for the coach next morning. Dr. Stock lives at Clifton. At dinner we had Lady Despencer, her daughter the Countess, *Mr. Foster*, and one or two others. Mr. Foster walked six miles to meet me, and returned on foot in the evening. I had previously seen a letter from him to Mr. Knott that was almost as good as apologetical. We gradually got into a habit of cordiality with each other. I like his society and conversation extremely. At tea there came in my informers, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Sanders. None of the others whom Mr. Collins recommended were to be had. I got all the facts and details, however, from the gentlemen present; and after a pleasant general talk in the drawing-room, they and Mr. Foster went away, leaving among others the ladies above specified, with Mrs. Pringle, sister to Farquhar Gordon of Edinburgh, and Mr. Grinfield, a most delightful clergyman of Bristol. We had much genial talk upon the best

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stimulants which will disappear of itself on their mere removal. It may be made to vanish at a touch; but though the restoration of the parochial system to our great cities would effect this reformation, as well as many others, yet such is my humble estimate of its importance that I should count the salvation of a single soul of more value than the deliverance of a whole empire from pauperism."—From letter addressed to Dr. James Brown, St. Andrews, dated Glasgow, January 30, 1819.

subjects; and after they took leave, we went to bed about twelve o'clock. Dr. Stock is the pleasantest and most interesting man I know.

" *Wednesday.*—Started at half-past six; breakfasted. Dr. Stock took me down in his chaise to the coach, and we were there in time; but the luggage was not forward in sufficient time, and after a painful anxious looking for the porter, whom Mr. Ryland did not bring with him, he having come previously himself, the coach at length went off without me. In five minutes the dawdling creature came, and I had nothing for it but to hire a post-chaise and drive in pursuit of the coach. Poor Mr. Ryland was very sorry, and I did what I could to soothe him. Overtook the coach at the distance of six miles from Bristol, and had to pay thirteen shillings and sixpence additional for this mistake. Reached Wells between eleven and twelve. The Bishop had previously written that his house was so full that he could not receive me as a lodger. I put up, therefore, at the Star Inn, where, after two or three hours in writing, I sent him a note of my arrival. He soon after came from his deanery, with Lord Calthorpe and another gentleman. They took me into their carriage on an excursion to the Abbey of Glastonbury, whither the whole of the party at his house had previously gone. There I was oppressed by a number of introductions to strangers, and certainly was not very comfortable. Did not get into terms of ease with the Bishop, and on the whole this part of the operations went off heavily. Returned from Glastonbury in the carriage along with two gentlemen distinct from the Bishop and Lord Calthorpe, who preferred returning on horseback. Visited with them the Cathedral of Wells, which is one of the finest I ever saw. The Bishop of Wells has a magnificent palace. The Bishop of Gloucester, as Dean of Wells, lives in the Deanery, and there I went along with him about six. He had previously joined us in the Cathedral, and been so good as obtain an interview for me with the overseer for the poor. After conversing with him about half an hour, was summoned to dinner, where they had all previously sat down to the number perhaps of twenty. There was a place left for me at the head of the table, next to Lord Calthorpe, and he was most particularly attentive. I had a good deal of talk at tea, and thought I could overhear the suppressed exclamation of—'O shocking!' as I went on with some of my required explanations on the subject of the poor. I took leave of them at ten o'clock, and went to bed in the inn.

"*Thursday.*—Started between five and six. Went to the Deanery by appointment; took an early breakfast there. Went along with the Bishop and Lord Calthorpe in a carriage to breakfast with a clerical friend at the distance of about seventeen miles, who was nearly on the road to Sherbourne. When I got to Bruton, which was two miles distant from the place, I found, by investigating the distance onward, and the impossibility of finding a ready conveyance in any other way, that it was expedient for me to take leave of the Lord spiritual and the Lord temporal without proceeding to breakfast, and to take a chaise to myself from Bruton to Sherbourne, which was twelve miles off. The Bishop was I thought coldly polite, but Lord Calthorpe remarkably otherwise, and made an appointment to meet me at Salisbury, and to go on with me thence to Southampton, where he had led Mr. Sturges Bourne, M.P., to expect me. I fell into the hands of a Bristol clergyman named Dr. Bridges at this place, with whom and his lady I breakfasted ere I set off for Sherbourne, which I did in a post-chaise by myself, and reached Patrick between one and two. He had previously engaged people to come and be my informers about the pauperism of the neighbourhood, and a few from Sherbourne and the other parishes were in attendance upon me. Mr James, their parish curate, I particularly liked, and he went off in sufficient time; but Mr. ——, an Aberdeen agriculturist, who was very intelligent and sagacious certainly, but talkative and noisy withal, though he saw me overborne with drowsiness, and knew that I had to start next morning at four, chose to remain till nearly twelve o'clock, at which time I threw myself into bed.

"*Friday.*—Started between four and five. I had an appointment to meet Lord Calthorpe at one in Salisbury, which was thirty-six miles off, and took a post-chaise all the way in defect of a public conveyance. I got a convoy from Patrick and his wife, first to Shaftesbury, where we breakfasted, and then to the Glove, in all a distance of twenty-one miles. I was a good deal affected in taking leave of them, and going on in my solitary journey. I felt a real revival of affection towards Patrick, and a cordial sympathy with all the circumstances of their condition. They went back in the chaise that brought me, and I went onwards to Salisbury, where I met Lord Calthorpe according to promise, and got on with him in his carriage to Southampton. We took the road by the New Forest; and it was indeed most beautiful. On our way we called at Sturges Bourne's, who had gone previously forward to Southampton to dine with us at Mr. Henry Ryder's, formerly one of the under Secretaries of State, and brother to the Bishop of Gloucester. His Lordship was most kind and pleasant during the whole road, and among other things said that it would be a want of frankness in him not to state a circumstance which, after that he revealed, explained to my satisfaction the whole frigidity of my reception at Wells. The Bishop, it seems, was annoyed by my reference to him in my chapter of the 'Civic Economy' upon patronage;* and I can see as much now of the way in which it might implicate him with the other bishops as to make me regret that I have done it. It is only in so far satisfactory to myself that I have not, on the present occasion, obtruded upon his company. Mr. Hunter of Gloucester wrote him of my progress southwards, and then he wrote me an invitation to Wells, and I was totally unconscious of having done any thing which could have offended either him or his lady, though I now see it might have been abundantly vexatious to them both. It is so far well, however, that his brother, Mr. Ryder, was most kind, and spoke most complimentarily of my publications, and instanced particularly my 'Commercial Discourses,' as having done great good both to himself and some of his acquaintances. I liked Sturges Bourne, too, very well; but I fear that he is not prepared to coalesce with me to the full extent of my views upon pauperism, and that perhaps I may have discomposed him a little by the tenacity wherewith I stood up not for the regulation of a compulsory fund, but for the total annihilation of it. However, all was kind and civil and easy, it being a very small and select party. I had to move away from Southampton next morning at four by the mail; and though invited to take my bed with Mr. Ryder, yet I resolved not to disturb the family by so early a movement, and therefore I motioned to go to the inn, whence the coach was to depart. It was half a mile from Mr. Ryder's house, and therefore the more kind in him and Lord Calthorpe actually to walk with me and show me the house. I took leave of them about ten, and threw myself into bed.

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* See *Works*, vol. xiv. pp. 229, 230.

"*Saturday.*—Started at four. Got on to Portsmouth a little after seven. Landed at the George Hotel, where I breakfasted. I should have mentioned that I had previously written to Sir George Grey the intimation of my visit, and had obtained a most gracious reply from him at Wells. After breakfasting in the inn, I called on Mr. Griffin, who was from home, but his son was most attentive to me. I then called on Sir George, and found Lady Grey from home, being wind-bound at Ply-mouth. There was a daughter there, and one or two lady visitors besides. I then went forward on my investigations of pauperism at Portsmouth, Portsea, and Gosport. I spent a very busy forenoon, during which I conversed with the Mayor of Portsmouth, Dr. Bogue, and many others. Mrs. Boag was most kind. I returned to Sir George's at five, and there I received a letter of invitation from Mr. Butterworth, now at Portsmouth, and a call from Mr. Legh Richmond, also there along with the former gentleman. Mrs. Gordon, sister of Lady Grey, was also there. She is in profound affliction, yet took a most intelligent and feeling interest in my expedition, and presented me with a book, and gave me a good deal of information. I was surprised to meet Mr. M'Lintock on the street, who was so attentive to us in the King's yacht. He, too, dined with us in the Dockyard. I was strongly solicited to stay and preach ; but I had previously written to London, and had no other way of fulfilling the expectations I had created there than by going forward in a night coach, which left Portsmouth at eight, and carried me to London at seven in the morning. There was no other passenger but a lady. I was not able to sleep, and never could in travelling ; so that with the fatigue and sleeplessness of former days, I was pretty well prepared for repose during the first day of my arrival in the metropolis.

"*Sunday.*—Mr. Hale was waiting my arrival at the inn, and took me out in his carriage to his house at Homerton. He is a most sagacious and excellent man, and admirably well enlightened on the subject of pauperism. I got my breakfast, and by his advice threw myself into bed immediately after it. There I slept for about three hours, and though far from being rested thereby, I was much refreshed by it. Got up towards one ; dined with the family. Preached for Dr. Pye Smith of Homerton at three : a very small house, that holds about 600, and this was favourable. Again preached in the evening at half-past six for Mr. Burder of Hackney. Mr. Bunting relieved me of all the prayers. I have really not been overdone by all this work. Supped at nine; Mr. Fletcher was of the party; and went to bed towards eleven.

" *Monday.*—Gave all this morning in Mr. Hale's to the work of taking down his most important depositions on the pauperism of London. Found that I could scarcely enter upon the heavy arrears of my correspondence, and therefore must spend another day here in busy solitude. Wrote both Mr. Irving and James, from the latter of whom I received an answer; and I shall spend a night in his house, either on Wednesday or Thursday, or both. Dr. Pye Smith dined with us, and his wife and daughter drank tea. I felt this to be a considerable interruption to my work. I have many letters to answer, not having been able to do anything in this way since I left Wells. I have also more than a whole week's conversations on pauperism to extend. I am very much refreshed from my fatigues; but find that the multiplicity of work in London will prevent me from many of those short excursions that I had conceived to be possible. I am more and more convinced of this world's tastelessness and treachery—that it is with God alone that any satisfying converse is to be had; but, oh how the blindness and carnality of nature stand in the way both of clear discernment and of lively feeling! Give a kiss to each of the children in my behalf. I received your few short but precious lines at Bristol appended to Mrs. Hutcheson's letter.—Yours, most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"HOMERTON, NEAR LONDON, *September 24th*, 1822.

" *Tuesday.*—Rose this morning at seven. Had a very busy day till dinner-time with my writings. After breakfast went out for an hour with Dr. Pye Smith, and heard him lecture. Mr. Irving dined with us. He brought out his three elders, who entreated me to do a thing I had no time for, relative to the inducting of Mr. Irving. They went off before dinner. Mr. Irving brought a large packet of letters, but none from you, which I feel somewhat surprised at. There is one from Lord Elgin, urging me to go to Lord Grenville. My business at present is with men of parochial management, and not with grandees of any sort; and it will positively cut up my designs if they are to be thus interrupted. Mr. Irving stopped all night; and he is in good taking with his charge. Went to bed about twelve.

"*Wednesday.*—Started after seven. Mr. Hale and son, Mr. Irving and myself, went to town in Mr. Hale's carriage to Lord Calthorpe's, where I breakfasted. I came in upon the family worship. Mr. Babington and Mr. Zachary Macaulay were there. I had much conversation with them; and we were afterwards joined by Mr. Cunningham of Harrow. The latter gentleman walked with me first to Marylebone Workhouse, the particulars of which I jotted down; then to Mr. Higgison; then, after taking leave of him, to Cheapside, where I was introduced to Mr. M., connected with four London parishes, and from whom I got most satisfying information; then to the counting-house of Mr. Hamilton, which is at all times open to receive me for writing letters, and where at this moment I have carried forward my business to the point at which I am now writing you. Mr. Hamilton then took me to a coach for Clapham. On our way we called on James, when I got a few minutes of hurried conversation with him. It seems that he has been a good deal pestered since my arrival with inquiries about me. Among the rest my friend Mr. Davidson of Charlotte Street made several calls; and James replied to his written interrogations about me in a note of which he kept a copy, that is perfectly characteristic of him. I got on the top of a coach for Clapham, whither I had been invited by Mr. Dealtry, the minister thereof. He had a large party of parishioners to dinner, whom he wanted to impregnate with my views. The most distinguished of them all was Mr. Robert Grant, the brother of Charles, whom we saw; a most distinguished literary character, and who I think will undertake the cause of anti-pauperism in the 'Edinburgh Review.' Miss Wallace, it seems, lives near Clapham, but though she wrote me a very urgent letter for a call, I could not make it out. The lady I met in the coach between Gloucester and Pudhill also wrote, reminding me of my purpose to call, but I could not make it out. I stopped with Mr. Dealtry all night, and felt happy in the elegant and lettered hospitalities of an English rector. Mrs. Dealtry is a fine creature, and Dealtry himself a most active, sensible, and enlightened man, and withal very friendly. There were additional ladies at tea, among whom Miss H., daughter of the deceased Henry, was the most remarkable. It was an assemblage of pious and highly cultivated individuals who have established the local system of schools in Clapham. Mr. Dealtry is to attempt the imitation of my pauperistic processes even in the face of the existing laws. Went to bed between eleven and twelve.

"*Thursday.*—Started after six. Mr. Dealtry walked with me to Vauxhall Bridge, and set me on the way to Grosvenor Square. I took the first hackney I could get hold of after leaving him, and went then to breakfast with Lord Calthorpe. He had ascertained that Mr. Peel was out of town; but assured me, from conversation he had had with the under Secretary of State, that he felt very kindly towards me; and he arranged it that I should write him, and present him with some of my Numbers on 'Civic Economy,' which I have done. I then, after breakfast, took a hackney-coach at his house, and drove to Mr. Hale's place of business at Spitalfields, in the other end of London. He had there arranged meetings for me with the clerks and assessors of Christ Church, Shoreditch, and White chapel. I spent about three hours in taking down their information. While thus employed, Mr. Buxton, M.P., the author of the book on 'Prison Discipline,' called, and I was introduced to him. This I regard as a very fortunate interview. He is a plain, intelligent, and very friendly person. You have heard me often admire his book; and he has done me important service in the way of introductions. I walked from Spitalfields to Mr. Hamilton of Cheapside, and thence took a coach for Mr. Irving's. On stepping in, I met Lord Calthorpe, who asked me to breakfast with him a third time, with a view to call afterwards on Mr. Vansittart. Drove to Mr. Irving's. He speculates as much as before on the modes of preaching, is quite independent with his own people, and has most favourably impressed such men as Zachary Macaulay and Mr. Cunningham with the conception of his talents. He is happy and free, and withal making way to good acceptance and a very good congregation. I stopped with him two hours; and was delighted to find that he had been asked to dine with me at Mr. Butterworth's, M.P., in Bedford Square, whither we both went at five o'clock, and remained till nearly nine. Mr. Hale was there, and Mr. Richmond of Turvey, with one of his unmarried daughters. I settled an arrangement for visiting him in Bedfordshire. Mr. Irving and I went off together, and walked to his lodgings, where I found Mr. ——, the singularity of whose manner you wont to remark, and who is his guest from Glasgow at present. This is one fruit of Mr. Irving's free and universal invitation; but I am glad to find that he is quite determined as to visits, and apparently not much annoyed with the intrusion of callers. I took a coach from Irving's to my brother's at Walworth; arrived there before ten; supped and had family worship; found Mrs. Chalmers and Mary quite well, and very happy to see me. James was very jocular, and we spent a very happy and friendly evening together. Went to bed about twelve.

"*Friday.*—Started before seven. Took part of a breakfast with James: he and Mary accompanied me towards Grosvenor Square. James parted with me before Mary, who crossed the Wellington Bridge with me, took me to the end of Piccadilly, and returned by Westminster Bridge. I breakfasted with Lord Calthorpe; after which we sallied out to Mr. Vansittart's in a coach. We missed him, and I left my card. Thence he took me to Lord Teignmouth's, where I met my old friend Mr Charles Shore. His Lordship is a very mild and patriarchal-looking nobleman; and I felt softened and solemnized by his presence. I could only afford a very short call; and on coming out I parted with Lord Calthorpe at the door, and walked onwards to call on Mr. Butterworth. I took a coach the latter part of the way. With Mr. Butterworth I visited a few families in St. Giles', where I witnessed both the extremes of human wretchedness and human wickedness;* yet a welcome on the part of the people that convinced me how susceptible they might be under the local system of a wholesome impression. I then visited the St. Giles' workhouse, and saw the out-pensioners and overseers in contact, or rather in conflict, with each other. It was big with interest to see hundreds of them penned together in a small yard, and waiting their turn to be called in. Mr. Butterworth's carriage then took me to Mr. Bunting's where I met with interesting people, and was conducted by them to St. Luke's Hospital, where I witnessed a similar concourse. I took down also the states of the two parishes of St. Giles' and St. Luke's. From the latter place I took a coach to Zachary Macaulay's, where I met a very distinguished party, and had much of pleasing and profitable talk upon pauperism —Lord Calthorpe, William Smith, M.P. for Norwich, Mr. Buxton, M.P., Mr. Cunningham of Harrow, Mr. Babington, and a son of the late Mr. Percival's. We joined the ladies at tea, after which I had to conduct family worship; and Mr. Cunningham with myself staid all night. Mr. Dealtry was also of the party; and things do look very hopeful as to the introduction of the matter into Parliament.

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* For an interesting allusion to this incident, see *Works*, vol. xxi. p. 18.

"*Saturday.*—Mr. Cunningham and I left Mr. Macaulay's, after an early breakfast, in a gig. He first called with me on Mr. Murray, M.P. His family are all very religious. We then went to Mr. Vivian, rector of a parish about eleven miles from London. I wished to see him from the very striking and peculiar testimony that he gave before a Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor-Laws. He is gruff and outspoken and very decisive in his opinions; and one of his earliest salutations to me was, that he rejoiced to see a man from Scotland on the subject, for so much nonsense had come in upon them from that country through the 'Edinburgh Review.' Poor Mr. Cunningham knew not how to look. We sat about two hours in conversation with him, and I was much interested by his views. When Mr. C. went off for the gig, I told Mr. Vivian that it would be a want of frankness and fairness in me not to disclose myself as the unfortunate author of the articles in question. This, on the other hand confused him not a little, but we really got upon better terms after this *éclaircissement;* and having agreed to exchange publications, we parted very good friends. Mr. Cunningham then took me to Stanmore, whence I was to post it by myself to Upton, where Mr. Gurney, a brother of Mrs. Fry's, resides, and where I was to get the interesting particulars of the parish of Westham. I had been led to believe that it was only eight miles of posting, but, lo and behold! by its being on a different side of London, we found it twenty-two. I had to be there at half-past two, but could not get till half-past four. I resolved, however, to go; took leave of Mr. Cunningham; arrived at Upton, where I was most kindly and welcomely received. They had despaired of me, and sent away the overseer, and were half through their dinner. But all was delightfully made up for. The venerable Mrs. Fry and her husband were there, with Mr. and Mrs. Gurney, both of whom are most charming people. They are all Quakers, and much congeniality both of feeling and of sentiment I enjoyed with them. I am delighted with the ready acquiescence of people so benevolent and at the same time so practised as they are in the habits and circumstances of the poor, in my speculation. They sent for the overseer again before tea, and I took down the state of the parish, with some very interesting facts confirmatory of my views. I left them after eight. Mr. Gurney drove me in his gig along the outskirts of London to Mr. Hale's, at the distance of five miles off. It was a fine moonlight night. Mr. Hale had asked certain people to sup; and I found myself getting fast behind in my writings. I fear that I must defer a good deal of work till my return to Glasgow. Got to bed between eleven and twelve.

"*Sunday.*—Rose at seven. Breakfasted between eight and nine. Rode to Mr. Irving's chapel with Mr. and Mrs. Hale and William their son in their carriage. A great crowd at the door, and among the rest my niece Mary. We drove through the crowd to a back-door, and with much ado got into the vestry. Mr. Irving made the first prayer. There was a very crowded congregation, though the chapel is small, not being seated for more than 600. After service I received friends in the vestry, among whom were Mr. Gow, Mr. Charles Vertue and lady, Miss Wallace, a lady from Dundee, and David Wilkie, the artist, who introduced to me Sir Thomas Lawrence and another painter. Went thence to Mr. Dinwiddie, Mr. Irving's elder, and dined with Mr. Wilkie, Mr. and Mrs. Hale, and many others. Before dinner I had time to call on Charles Vertue. Then after dinner drove to the Methodist Chapel, where Mr. Bunting received me. He did all the devotional part of the service, and I preached to an immense assemblage of three thousand people. Mr. Butterworth and many others were in the vestry before I left it. My friend Mr. Hale took me home in the carriage, and had some people to sup with me. Mr. Irving joined us, and spent the night at Homerton. He has sermon to his people in the evening, and not in the afternoon. I was certainly a good deal fatigued, and, after the supper company broke up, was glad to go to bed between eleven and twelve.

" I am now with Lord Calthorpe at his house in Suffolk, where Mr. and Mrs. Wilberforce and three of their family, Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Shore, and many others, are. This is Wednesday, and I am three days behind my narrative. I hope to resume it to-morrow. May God take you into His most holy keeping. —Yours, most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

" BURY ST. EDMUNDS, *October 3d*, 1822.

" *Monday.*—Started between six and seven. Breakfasted at seven, and before eight left the kind family of Hale in Homerton. Mr. Hale, to crown all his goodness to me, insisted on accompanying me in a post-chaise at his expense to the interior of Essex, about forty miles off, and I soon saw that I could not resist this without hurting and offending him. Mr. Irving I also left at Homerton ; and as you are interested in him, I may say, once for all, that he is prospering in his new situation, and seems to feel as if in that very station of command and congeniality whereunto you have long known him to aspire. I hope that he will not hurt his usefulness by any kind of eccentricity or imprudence. Mr. Hale passed on to a beautiful country till we came to Bocking, where the pauperism is in a most diseased state. Here we met with a farmer, who furnished me with all the particulars. Mr. Buxton has two uncles of the name of

Hanbury, great landed proprietors in this neighbourhood, and it is to them I am indebted for the excellent arrangements of this day. Mr. Charles Hanbury met us at Bocking, and regrets exceedingly his journey to Cheltenham, whither he is now going; but Mr. Osgood Hanbury, his brother, sent his carriage to us at Bocking, and in it we went to Halstead, about seven miles off, in a very distempered state of pauperism indeed, when another farmer met us by the kindness of our good friends, and gave us all the details. I was here introduced to the vicar. Thence we went, still in Mr. Osgood Hanbury's carriage, to Holfield Grange, his seat, where we were treated in the true primitive style of the hospitality of Old England. The house is one of Queen Anne's days, and I liked the old gentleman exceedingly, as being frank, and friendly, and peculiar withal. He had two daughters with him, and a party to meet us at dinner, among whom were Mr. Harvey, M.P., and Mr. Nolon, M.P., the latter of whom has written upon the Poor-Laws, and on which topic we had a great deal of conversation. I was, on the whole, satisfied with the progress that we had made. I got to bed between eleven and twelve.

"*Tuesday.*—Started between six and seven. Mr. Hanbury got the overseer from Coggeshall to meet me in his house at seven, and from him I took down the state of its pauperism. Mr. Hanbury assisted, and, after an hour's work, we took an early breakfast. Mr. Hale and I got into his carriage at half-past eight, and were driven to Bocking, where we had been yesterday, with a view to recover the road from London to Bury. After waiting here for some time, I secured in one of the coaches my place for Bury, and here took leave of my very kind friend Mr. Hale. I got on through an interesting country to Bury at one, and in the Angel Inn found Lord Calthorpe. He wrote, and I wrote along with him, for nearly an hour, after which he left me for a little. In the meantime, Mr. Godfrey, a magistrate and landed proprietor, came to me by Lord Calthorpe's appointment, and from him I got the state as to pauperism of one of the Suffolk parishes. Then came in Mr. Wilberforce, who really looks a great deal better than when I saw him last; but nothing can exceed the singularity of his movements. He positively danced and whisked about like a squirrel. He insisted on taking some packages with his own hand to the carriage that was waiting us at the door, and skipped before us in such a way that I could not refrain from laughing outright. I have the utmost love for him, at the same time, and the utmost reverence. He spoke highly of Mr. Collins, and was friendly and kind to the uttermost. He and I and Mr. Godfrey went together in a carriage of Lord Calthorpe's to his house at Ampton, where Mrs. Wilberforce, three of their family, Mr. Clarkson, and several others, were. Mr. Edward Elliot, whom you may recollect, was among them: he is now the officiating curate of two small parishes here, and is much, I should imagine, with Lord Calthorpe. There were one or two pious clergymen, and we spent a very happy evening in pleasant conversation. Mr. Clarkson and I drew very much together. Went to bed about eleven.

"*Wednesday.*—Started at seven. Took from Mr. Clarkson in the library his most important depositions relative to the poor of his parish and neighbourhood.* I had to conduct family worship and expound at half-past nine in the presence of a very numerous party of guests and domestics. After breakfast retired again to the library with Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Bickersteth for their testimonies about their parishes. The latter is an admirable clergyman of an adjoining parish. I should have said that Mr. Charles Shore joined us yesterday from London. Mr. Clarkson and I at twelve got into a carriage of Lord Calthorpe's, and Mr. Shore and Mr. Godfrey went outside, to Bury, where, by his Lordship's kindness, I had interviews and communication with overseers and official men, who gave me the accounts of no less than five very important parishes. Though this is not a day of great transaction, yet I do feel fatigued by all this work. At four we again left Bury for Ampton, about five miles off, and thence, after stealing about an hour to write, went down to dinner, where we had a very high and enlightened company. Among the rest, were Lord Euston, eldest son to the Duke of Grafton, and Sir William Parker. I got very well on, and at tea had Mr. Wilberforce in a corner, and made good progress with him on the topic of pauperism. I also had my separate conversations with Mrs. and Miss Wilberforce, Mr. Edward Elliot, Mr. Clarkson, and several others, and went to bed between eleven and twelve.

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* See *Works,* vol. xv. pp. 281-283.

" *Thursday.*—Started at seven. Left Lord Calthorpe's in his carriage with Mr. Clarkson for Bury at half-past seven. His Lordship has been most kind to me, and in the most delicate way gave me the friendliest advice as to the future composition of my work. He takes a great interest in it; and I can perceive that my articles in the 'Edinburgh Review' on pauperism have made a deeper impression throughout England than I was aware of. This I have collected from various parts of the country. I left Mr. Clarkson at Bury, and thence took my place to Cambridge. On my road I passed through Newmarket, and was interested by the view that I had of the great racing-ground. There was a coach that most opportunely took me up at Cambridge to London. I had not to stop for it above ten minutes, and it passed within half a mile of the East India College, where I arrived about four. I have certainly forgotten a few things; but I do not wonder at it in the very bustling and variegated career which I have run. I had much of kindred and substantial converse with Mr. Malthus. He is a great friend of Dealtry's, and, altogether, it is well that I have made this retrograde movement. I have travelled upwards of one hundred and fifty miles from London, and at the East India College am only nineteen miles from it. I might perhaps have desired a better and a shorter route for my various objects, and seen as much, but I have met with so many unforeseen yet urgent temptations to deviate. The cruelest disappointment I have yet sustained is at this place. I am engaged to be at Turvey to-morrow (Friday). Mr. Malthus thought that I would have reached him this evening late, and spent to-morrow with him. Sir James Mackintosh, who lives at the distance of six miles, was to have dined with me, and, in obedience to arrangements that are fixed, (and it was quite indispensable to fix beforehand,) I have to forego the advantage of a conversation on this interesting topic with the leader of Opposition in Parliament. When I come next to England it must be for the special object of converse with influential men. Dr. B., the Principal of the College, and his Lady, a Scotchwoman, together with others belonging to the Institution, joined us in the evening. I took leave of Mr. Malthus about eleven, and went with Dr. and Mrs. B. to their house, (Mr. Malthus's beds being altogether occupied,) and retired at twelve. I have been very kindly and welcomely entertained.

" *Friday.*—Started at seven. Left Dr. and Mrs. B. in a post-chaise at eight. Came on to Hatfield, where I now am waiting for the stage-coach to Bedford. Here I have written Mr. Malthus, giving vent to my feelings of regret and disappointment at not meeting with Sir James Mackintosh, and here, also, I have brought up my Journal to you. I have lagged behind for a long time, but I rejoice in thus overtaking this object. It was with no small interest that I learned it to be Sir James's invariable practice to write Lady Mackintosh a full journal of all his movements and conversations when away from her. I found that the innkeeper at Hatfield had been overseer of his parish, so that while waiting there for the coach I was not idle altogether, but yoked upon him, and posed him well with questions. Lord Cranbourne, son to the Marquis of Salisbury, I found to be a fellow-overseer of his, and I thought that I could not do less than leave a set of my publications for the joint benefit of my host and his Lordship: the latter I understand to feel a particular interest in the subject. Got into the coach for Bedford before eleven. Found there a lady and a young boy, who afterwards turned out to be the son of Sir Thomas Baring. I had been expected, it seems, at his house, and, somehow or other, the young gentleman recognised me, and we became known to each other. Sir Thomas lives in Hampshire, and this, his youngest son, had just come from home on his way to a boarding-school in the road before reaching Bedford. We had much of pleasing and good conversation ere he parted from us, and the lady formed a very pleasant addition to our little party. On reaching Bedford, I found Mr. Richmond at the front-door of the inn. He had brought his servant and his gig from Turvey to take me home there; but we dined at the inn ere we set forth, and, in the meantime, Mr. Hillyard, with his wife and daughter, waited on us to pay their respects. I got documents illustrative of the pauperism of the town, and then went on with Mr. Richmond in his gig to Turvey. I was delighted with the salutations that Mr. Richmond experienced in his parish and village. We landed at the rectory about six, and happy I was to repose in the bosom of a kind and interesting family. Mrs. Richmond was very motherly, and the domestic group altogether highly interesting. After tea the two overseers of the parish came in, and I had from them the state of the parish. I have made a real accession to my knowledge of English pauperism by this movement, and the kindness of the family has been quite unbounded. Went to bed before eleven. It is a curious house, consisting of many offsets and intricacies and ramifications, and the style of the rooms is highly picturesque and interesting. I have had real enjoyment in this visit, and Mr. Richmond has risen greatly in my regard in consequence of it.

" *Saturday.*—Started at seven. Was greatly delighted with the strength and refreshment I had gotten from being eight hours in bed. Breakfasted at eight, and left the family after nine. I made Mr. Richmond a firm proselyte to my system. It is really a most amiable family. Mr. Richmond accompanied me in his gig as before to Newport-Pagnell, eight miles off, the nearest place to a coach. On our way visited Olney, where I alighted at the vicar's, and was shown the house and garden of our dear poet Cowper. A little farther on called on Mr. Fry of Emberton, a rector, where we also met Mr. Westoby, a curate. Here I got a great deal of light on the subject of pauperism. Hurried on to Newport, and there found the Leicester coach just going off. It was full inside, so that I had nothing for it but to be an outside passenger for fifty miles. It was a glorious day, however, and a country altogether new. I dined at Northampton, and reached Leicester after six. On entering the town, I was stopped at the toll, and there told that a Dr. Chalmers in this coach must be let down at Parson Hall's. There I was let down accordingly, and found him from home, with a very kind letter of regret from him. I also there found Mr. Smyth's letter, and to him I would offer my compliments and best thanks. Here, also, I met with his nephew, Mr. Hall, from Kettering, who was to have preached, and with him I made the arrangements for the morrow. I then took a post-chaise, and drove on to Mr. Babington's, between five and six miles off. Arrived there at eight o'clock. Found a large dinner party there, and, among others, Mr. Whitmore, M.P., who is one of the most valuable auxiliaries that I have at all met with. I venerate Mr. Babington, but I shall speak more of him afterwards. There was a number of ladies, too, at tea, and altogether the reception I have met with has been of a most kind and encouraging nature. There was much of conversation, and we sat up till nearly twelve. I had to conduct family worship. A kiss to the dear children.—My dearest G., yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"NOTTINGHAM, *October 9th*, 1822.

"On Sunday I arose at eight, and at nine Mr. Babington's coach took us all into Leicester. Outside and in there were a good many members of his family, including himself and Mrs. Babington, with Mr. Whitmore. I preached both forenoon and afternoon, spending the interval with the Misses *Something* from Derbyshire, now living at Leicester. We also drank tea there, and returned to Rothely Temple, which is Mr. Babington's place, in the evening.

"*Monday.*—Rose at seven. Mr. Babington, that most perfect and practically right of men, had arranged many interviews with me at his house this day. I in particular had gentlemen from Leicester who gave me a full account of the pauperism there. Among others were Mr. Coote and Mr. Robert Hall, junior. There was a very large party at breakfast; and I did not get quit of my informers till about one o'clock. I was also taken out to meet with neighbours who called, and among others I had great pleasure in Mr. John Babington, a son, who is a clergyman of a neighbouring parish, a Mr. Erskine, also a clergyman of a parish here, and son to Lord Erskine, and Mr. Rose, the parish minister, who is married to a daughter of Mr. Babington. At one I went out with Mrs. and the Misses Babington to visit their village called Rothely, and was much struck with the superior style and manners of these English cottagers. We called at the rectory, where I thought highly of Mrs. Rose. Dined with somewhat of a family party, and had afterwards converse with Mr. John Babington about his parochial pauperism. Mr. Whitmore left us in the evening, and I do count him a very great Parliamentary acquisition to the good cause: kind and clever and expert in all the forms and business of the house. Went to bed at eleven. * * * Mr. Coke of Norfolk expressed a very kind and urgent desire to see me; and had the geography at all suited I should certainly have felt it my duty to go, it being of mighty importance to gain the countenance of influential people."

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At Rothely Temple Dr. Chalmers was introduced to the Rev. Edward Morgan, the now venerable vicar of Syston, who invited him to preach in his pulpit. The liberal spirit which prompted this offer was fully felt and responded to by Dr. Chalmers, who told Mr. Morgan that he would rather preach in the Established Church than out of it when in England. On the ground, however, of the existing legal hindrances which stood in the way of compliance the offer was declined, but it induced a friendship, and was followed by a correspondence, some interesting extracts from which the reader will find in the Appendix.*

On Saturday, the 12th October, Dr. Chalmers crossed the Border, and chose for his first resting-place in Scotland the manse at Kelso, in the society of whose highly cultivated minister, the Rev. Mr. Lundie, and in that of his accomplished lady, he experienced a most grateful repose after the efforts and varieties of six weeks' incessant toil. The events of the three days which followed are best told in the words of a letter, addressed at the time by Mrs. Lundie to her friend the Rev. Matthias Bruen of New York:—

" *Kelso, October 25th*, 1822.—Dr. Chalmers was so kind as to return this way from his English journey to investigate the state of pauperism. He met with your friend Lord Calthorpe, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Babington, Cunningham of Harrow, &c., and has gained such a favourable impression of the form piety assumes in the Episcopal Church, that I daresay Andrew Thomson will accuse him of wishing to be a bishop.* Dr. Chalmers arrived on Saturday. The good man rejoiced to be at the fireside of a Scotch manse once more, and said he was happy because he might speak Scotch as he could not help doing, and no one would misunderstand him. He preached on 'He who being often reproved hardeneth his neck,' &c. He said we must listen now, for he could make the argument no stronger if we lived these twenty years, and that our hearts are like metal—if they do not break under the hammer of the Word they will harden. There was a climax—'Death will come—the coffin will come—the mourners will come,' &c. It was delivered with such power that from the duchess to the apprentice boy all wept. On Monday we were loath to lose the great and good man, and set out with him to Jedburgh. His mind expanded and rejoiced over the beauties of nature; and no youth in his teens could have recited with more zest quotations from descriptive poems—'Thomson's Seasons,' &c.—

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* See Appendix L.

> 'Sweet Teviot on thy silver tide
> The blazing bale-fires burn no more,' &c.

The varied treasures of his mind lavished on us by the way were quite delightful. We went on to Edgerstoun; part of the way lay by a dashing stream, part through woods, and part by cottages adorned by roses, and all of it in company with a man of God to whom it was safe to confide our doubts, and even to commit our vagaries. We found Mr. Rutherford was not at home. His amiable wife was by the library fire with her sister-in-law, and Mr. Brown, a remarkably large stout man of seventy-two. He had been a parishioner in Cavers when Dr. Chalmers was assistant there, and the greetings and cordial inquiries between them were quite animated. We fell into devout discourse presently, and conversed till late, the aged gentleman, as was remarked next day, listening keenly and seeming to ponder what was said. He had not read Wilberforce's 'View,' the first book, Dr. Chalmers said, which had cast light into his mind. Next morning I heard a bustle in the room where the aged guest slept,—our rooms were in a turret of the mansion with a thin partition between ; I heard a servant call in an alarmed manner down stairs for help, and ran into the room, where I found a man trying to support the giant frame of Mr. Brown. I had just time to throw the pillows below him before he sank on the floor. It were vain to tell of watching the pulses of a dying heart, of unwillingness to believe that he was gone, of chaffing dead feet and bleeding dead arms, and attempting to warm a chilling frame. Mrs. R., always gentle, received every advice with gratitude. Dr. Chalmers, who had never seen death before but once, stood like a statue, holding up both his hands. Then we knelt and he offered up a comprehensive and solemn prayer. Then we stood again and gazed till we fancied we saw the features move, and the huge breast heave, and wiped the dews off the brow that was never to feel again. After a time the family assembled, and Dr. Chalmers addressed us on, 'Be ye also ready,' &c. He made many ineffectual efforts to find the passage, ruffling the leaves of the Bible in obvious agitation, and at last he gave up the attempt, saying we all were acquainted with the words. The son of Mr. Brown, who was not far off, and arrived some time before, seemed as if he had been alarmed into stone, till, in the progress of the address, the poor youth melted to tears.

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* The impression here referred to was not created by this visit to England. Writing to Mr. Wilberforce in March 1822, some months before this visit was paid, Dr. Chalmers says, "We had a visit from Mr. Gray of Sunderland lately, one of the good men of the Church of England. It is truly refreshing to have a visit from such. It always puts me in mind of a saying of Brainerd, that he had heard hundreds speak about religion but not above one or two speak religion. We Scotch speak about it—look at the matter intellectually—come forth with our didactic speculations about the thing; but the evangelical English clergymen, as far as I can observe, possess the thing, and possessing it they have by far the most effective ingredient of good preaching, which is the personal piety of the preacher himself."

"We felt that we could not leave Mrs. R. on that day, which was touching in all its hours. We went to the porter's lodge and assembled all the cottagers, and Dr. Chalmers addressed them. He also addressed the poor son when no one was present but myself, and with a father's tenderness besought him to read Alleine's 'Alarm,' and to pray. He wept over him. We rambled for hours in the woods. One is accustomed to consider great men as to their fame, their talents, their usefulness, but that day I considered a great man as to his own religious experience. It was touching to see him sit down on a bank repeatedly with tears in his eyes, and say, 'Ah! God has rebuked me, I know now what St. Paul means by being instant in season and out of season. Had I addressed that old man last night with urgency it might have seemed out of season to human eyes, but how seasonable it would have been.'

"During our walk he spoke confidingly of his early views. He did not understand gospel truth, and felt an aversion to the *sabbatical* air of his father's house, yet all the time he was a *consistent Theist*—adoring God the Creator, and delighting to *expatiate* on his works, so that when at College if a companion forced himself on his Saturday walk in the country it was a disappointment; he enjoyed solitary musings and adoration. He then spoke with simplicity and genuine feeling on the difference between the character of the Creating and the Redeeming God, and quoted Cowper—'My Father made them all.'

"We set out next morning, and drove down that road in safety up which Mr. Brown had come in health as good as ours. Breakfasted at Dr. Somerville's; had a large meeting of friends at Mary Leslie's, where we again enjoyed worship with Dr. Chalmers, and there bade farewell—he taking his way to

Cavers and Wilton, I mine to tell my family at home that one was taken and the other left."

Of the visit to Cavers there is no other notice than this brief entry in his Journal,—" *October* 16*th.*—To Cavers.—Splendid charity of Mr. Douglas." On Saturday the 19th Dr. Chalmers arrived in Glasgow, and on Monday, after reviewing the incidents of his seven weeks' absence he wrote thus to his sister Mrs. Morton :—" I have reason to pray and to strive lest the busy routine of operations should altogether secularize me. It is a withering world—a dry and a thirsty land where no water is—a place of exile from the fountain of life and light that is laid up in the Divinity, and in the dust of which it is the constant and downward tendency of our hearts to be ever grovelling. It is good that we feel our nothingness, and that under the impulse of this feeling we seek for our all out of the sufficiency that is in Christ. Never will He reject the feeblest approaches of those who are humbled by an affecting sense of their own worthlessness ; and it forms a great peculiarity of the gospel, which is all its own, that under its influence alone it is, that when we are weak then are we strong."

CHAPTER XV.

CHURCH IN EDINBURGH OFFERED AND REFUSED—CORRESPONDENCE WITH PRINCIPAL NICOLL AS TO THE VACANT CHAIR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS—ACCEPTANCE OF THAT CHAIR—LETTER OF EXPLANATION TO HIS AGENCY—ERECTION OF A CHAPEL OF EASE IN THE PARISH OF ST. JOHN'S—APPEARANCES BEFORE THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS—SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1821, ON THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE HOLY MINISTRY—THE TABLE CONTROVERSY—CASE OF PLURALITY OF OFFICES—INDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL MACFARLANE AS ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF GLASGOW.

" More than twenty years ago, immediately before Dr. Muir came to Edinburgh, Bailie Smith called on me,* at the request of the Lord Provost and Magistrates, to request me to ascertain if Dr. Chalmers would accept of the then vacant charge in Edinburgh. They had resolved to present him if he would accept; but they made it a rule never to offer a presentation without previously ascertaining that it would be accepted. My neighbour, the late Mr. Wood, who was, I believe, a distant relative of Dr. Chalmers, and in whose house I had frequently met the Doctor, happened to be going to Glasgow next day, and I requested him to call on Dr. Chalmers and state to him what had passed between me and Bailie Smith, adding that it would be very obliging, as the Bailie had suggested, that even if Dr. Chalmers declined to come to Edinburgh on this occasion, he would state his general views on this subject."

In consequence of this communication Dr. Chalmers addressed the following letter to Mr. Wood, which, though not read at the Council table, was known to all the Magistrates and Council, and of course to a considerable portion of the public:—

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* Letter from John Shank More, Esq., dated June 1850.

"GLASGOW, *January 30th*, 1822.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The subject of our conversation this morning is not new to me, having repeatedly had to deliberate on similar overtures from Edinburgh on the occasion of former vacancies. This has familiarized me the more to the merits of the proposition which you have had the goodness to lay before me, and may account for the readiness and decision of my answer to it.

"You know that all my personal tastes and partialities are on the side of Edinburgh; nor, were it right to indulge an earthly perspective, can I figure any sort of *beau idéal* that more regales my imagination than to retire from the fatigue and distraction of my present habits to the literature and intellectual society of our cultivated metropolis. Any situation of superior Christian usefulness to the one that I now occupy, and which would at the same time afford tranquillity and leisure for the prosecution of theological learning, I should feel, in spite of all the ties which bind me to Glasgow, to be quite irresistible.

"But this is what I cannot look for in the mere exchange of one parish for another; and, besides, though my present arrangements for St. John's are nearly all settled, and in so far I feel myself emancipated from the necessity for remaining, which before had a powerful effect to fix and detain me in my present situation, yet are these arrangements so prosperous and so promising, that I am not aware of any ministerial charge in Scotland more important than the one which I now hold, or which should induce me to abandon the field of my present labours.

"All my gratitude is due to those gentlemen of the Town Council in Edinburgh who have kindly offered to befriend me in this matter. I should regret it extremely if the way in which I have hitherto kept aloof from the offices which they patronize were at all to disoblige or alienate a single individual among them. The truth is, that there is not a body of men in the kingdom to whose patronage I should feel greater satisfaction in being indebted for such a retreat from the manifold activities of a city parish, as would not withdraw me at the same time from the service of Christianity, but only enable me to exchange the personal for the literary labours of my profession,—Yours very truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

But although he negatived the proposal made to him in the beginning of the year 1822, a different treatment awaited another proposal which he received near its close. Soon after his return from England Dr. Chalmers received the following letter from the Rev. Dr. Nicoll, Principal of the United College, St. Andrews:—

"ST. ANDREWS, *November* 16*th*, 1822.

"You are aware that our Moral Philosophy Chair in St. Andrews is vacant, and the purpose of this letter is to ask you, whether you would accept of this Chair were it offered without any solicitation on your part? If you ask how I come to put this question, my answer is, you have been heard to say, I understand, that the exertions required in your present situation are rather too much for your constitution, and that you believed a more limited and retired sphere of action might be advisable for you. There is an idea, too, that you are attached to the scenes of your early years, and that St. Andrews would be by no means a disagreeable residence for you, whilst your employment as a teacher of Moral Science would embrace the same general object which a clergyman has in view. I beg of you to understand that this letter is written without any authority from my colleagues, and even without their knowledge, and in the first instance for my own private guidance. If your mind be at once decidedly against the plan you will require no time for deliberation, but if you judge it deserving of consideration, then I think your best way would be to meet me in Edinburgh—where I am to be at a county meeting on Tuesday next—when we can have a conversation on the subject. Be assured, however, that I have no wish to converse with you on anything like jobbing politics.

"If you come among us you shall come free as the air you breathe. No favour will be considered as done to you, and consequently you will be under no obligation to any individual. My support will be given to your character—to your varied acquirements and splendid talents—to your integrity as a man—to your gentlemanlike and mild manners as a member of society; and if my colleagues give their support, I know that it will be given on the same grounds. The living, I am sorry to say, cannot be reckoned higher than £300 a year, but I think it will increase.

"I ought to have said that your name would never be mentioned unless there were a certainty of success, and that your presence would not be required for nearly twelve months. Believe me to be, my dear Sir, with sincere respect, yours faithfully,

FRANCIS NICOLL."

This frank and generous communication, coming from one whose sentiments on many points of ecclesiastical polity differed widely from his own, was taken into immediate and earnest consideration. The interview in Edinburgh proposed by Dr. Nicoll took place, and was succeeded by the following interchange of letters:—

"ST. ANDREWS, *January* 11*th*, 1823.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Referring to my former letter, and to the conversation which passed subsequently betwixt us in the month of November, I have now to express my hope that you are ready to answer the question which that letter contained, and which I now repeat with the knowledge and concurrence of my colleagues. They, it is true, as I then stated, did not know of my holding any written or verbal communication with you in November; but it is equally true, on the other hand, that I would not have done what I did if I had not believed that they entertained an equally favourable opinion with myself of your character and talents.

"I can now say that they are ready to receive you most cordially as a colleague whose name will add splendour to the College, and whose dispositions will render him a most valuable acquisition to the private society of its members. By coming amongst us your plans of public usefulness will not be upon the whole impeded, for though you will be completely occupied during session time with your duty as a Moral Philosophy Professor, you will have six months entirely to yourself unfettered by College rules.

"If your answer be favourable the election may take place immediately or not as agreeable to yourself; but I cannot promise now that the matter has been spoken of that it can be kept out of public view for any length of time. I may add, that though the election takes place now the admission which constitutes you a professor will be made to suit your own wishes, any time between this and the month of November. You are aware that the family of the late incumbent enjoy the emoluments up to Whitsunday. Expecting to hear from you as soon as you can, I remain, my dear Sir, with sincere respect and esteem, your very faithful servant, FRANCIS NICOLL."

"GLASGOW, *January* 13*th*, 1823.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have received the communication by which you have honoured me, and I am happy that it found me altogether free from the doubts and hesitations which I expressed to you at our interview in Edinburgh.

"I feel myself to be highly flattered by the distinguished mark of approbation which you and your colleagues have conferred upon me, and it shall be my assiduous endeavour to justify your confidence by the faithful performance of those different duties which you have called upon me to discharge.

"If you think it altogether right and formal in me to announce this determination to the official people here previous to my election, it would make it less necessary that it should be immediate. But if the actual election must precede any such announcement, then the sooner it takes place the better, as it would shorten that period of annoyance which would take place between the first report of your movements in Glasgow and the promulgation of my acceptance. I have, besides, an interest in making the earliest possible communication both to the Lord Provost and to my kirk-session, and, on the whole, should prefer that I had it in my power to render the attention to them of making them acquainted with my views ere the topic came in any shape before the public. I have another object in the matter being fully settled and understood—and that is, that it would give an energy and decision to my concluding movements in Glasgow, and so enable me the sooner to perfect my various arrangements.

"You would oblige me much by your reply, that I may know how to act in regard to this matter, which I feel to be of some importance in my present situation.

"I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude for the very handsome manner in which you and your colleagues have acted towards me.—I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the 18th January 1823, Dr. Chalmers was unanimously elected to the vacant office. A meeting of his elders, deacons, and Sabbath-school teachers was immediately summoned, and the following letter, which was read to them, gave the first public announcement in Glasgow of the contemplated removal :—

" GLASGOW, *January 20th*, 1823.

" I have called together the gentlemen of the agency of St. John's, for the purpose of making known my acceptance of the offered Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews ; and it is not without much agitation that I contemplate the prospect of leaving such a number of friends, in whose kindness and Christian worth I have found a refuge from many disquietudes. The appointment is altogether unlooked for and unsolicited on my part, and just happens to be the seventh that has been submitted to my consideration since I have been connected with Glasgow. You will therefore believe, that it is not upon a slight or hasty deliberation that I have resolved to accept of it ; and I now hasten to offer the explanation of my reasons to those who are best entitled to know them.

" My first is a reason of necessity, and is founded on the imperative consideration of my health. I should like to unite the labour of preparation for the pulpit with the labour of household ministrations in the parish ; this is a union which I have made many attempts to realize, and I now find myself to be altogether unequal to it : this mortifying experience has grown upon me for a good many months, but never did it become so distinct and decisive until the present winter. My very last attempt at exertion out of doors has been followed up by several weeks of utter incapacity for fixed thought. I find it impossible any longer to acquit myself both of the personal and mental fatigues of my present office ; and, when under an impressive sense of this, a vacant professorship came to my door, I entertained it as an opening of Providence, and have resolved to follow it.

" My second is a reason of conscience. I am aware that the fatigue of my present office is shortly to be lightened by the erection of a Chapel of Ease, and the subdivision of the parish into two equal parts. I have often taken encouragement to myself from the anticipation of this important relief; and if my successor be possessed of ordinary strength, and have nothing to carry off his mind from the direct work of the ministry, he will now, I am persuaded, feel the comforts of a sphere so reduced within manageable limits, that it may be overtaken. But it so happens of me, that my attention of late has been divided between the cares of my profession and the studies of general philanthropy; and, while sensible of the rebuke to which this might expose me from those whose piety and Christian excellence are entitled to veneration, yet I can affirm of every excursion that I have recently made in the fields of civic and economic speculation, that I have the happiness of him who condemneth not himself in that which he hath allowed. I can truly say, that when I entered on this field it was not because I knowingly turned me away from the object of Christian usefulness, but because I apprehended that I there saw the object before me; but the field has widened as I have advanced upon it, insomuch that I cannot longer retain the office which I now hold without injustice to my parish and congregation—without, in fact, becoming substantially, and to all intents and purposes, a pluralist.

"In these circumstances, Gentlemen, I have been met, and most unexpectedly, with the unanimous invitation of a college within whose walls I can enjoy the retirement that I love, and again unbosom myself among the fondest remembrances of my boyhood. It was there that I passed through the course of my own academical studies, and that I am now called upon to direct the studies of another generation. Some of you have long known what I think of the great worth and importance of a professorship, and that I have even held a literary office in a university, through which the future ministers of our parishes pass in numerous succession every year, to be a higher station in the vineyard, even of Christian usefulness, than the office of a single minister of a single congregation.*

" Moral philosophy is not theology, but it stands at the entrance of it, and so, of all human sciences, is the most capable of being turned into an instrument either for guiding aright, or for most grievously perverting the minds of those who are to be the religious instructors of the succeeding age.

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* In the explanatory remarks appended to the First Number of the " Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," published in September 1819, there occurs the following passage :—" You know that a machine, in the hand of a single individual, can often do a hundred-fold more work than an individual can do by the direct application of his own hands. He who makes the machine, then, is more productively employed than he who, without it, engages immediately in the work. To produce a steam-engine, which sets one hundred looms agoing, is a far larger contribution to the goods of the country than to work at a single loom. This principle, obvious enough in manufactures, is sadly overlooked in the business of human society. The man who spends so much time in the services of a philanthropic institution, is not so productively employed as he who excites the principle which prompts those services in the breasts of a hundred men. He who does the work is not so productively employed as he who multiplies the doers. He who is a mere agent in the business of charity is not so efficient a contributor to the cause as he who rears a charitable agency. 'Put them,' says the apostle to one preacher, 'put them in mind to be ready unto all good works.' To another preacher he says, 'Meditate on thine own peculiar work, give thyself to it wholly.'

" But, further—the elevated office of a Christian minister is to catch men. There is, however, another still more elevated, and that, too, in regard of Christian productiveness—which is to be employed in teaching and in training the fishers of men. A professorship is a higher condition of usefulness than an ordinary parish. Some of you may think that this holds true only of a theological professorship: but this is your mistake. There are many university subjects which, without being hurtfully transformed, admit of the very strongest impregnation of Christianity. This holds eminently and characteristically true of Natural Philosophy, where science and sacredness may be made to stand together in perpetual conjunction—where the demonstrations of the one may be employed to kindle and sustain the devotions of the other—where every new step in the march of investigation leads to a new evolution of the glories of the Divinity—and where the unequivocal testimonies which must ever fall from the abundance of a heart filled with the light of the gospel, would not descend with less emphasis upon the hearers that it came associated with that light of philosophy which they now hold in too exclusive veneration.

" Were there, at this moment, fifty vacancies in the Church, and the same number of vacancies in our Colleges, and fifty men to start into view, equally rich in their qualifications for the one department and the other, some of you would be for sending them to the pulpits,—I would be for sending them to the Chairs. A Christianized university, in respect of its professorships, would be to me a mightier accession than a Christianized county, in respect of its parishes. And should there be a fountain out of which there emanated a thousand rills, it would be to the source that I should carry the salt of purification, and not to any of the streams which flow from it."

"It is my anxious wish that these reasons, which have satisfied myself, should satisfy you. In the calm retreat of an ancient and much loved University—in the employment which it offers, so akin to the themes that I hold in the highest estimation—in the post of superior usefulness which is there assigned to me—in the unbounded leisure and liberty of its summer vacation, during which I may prosecute my other favourite pursuits, and more particularly, may renew, for months together, my converse with Glasgow, and so perpetuate my intimacy with yourselves;—in these there are charms and inducements which I have not been able to resist, and which I have not seen it my duty to put away from me.

"I feel the highest gratitude for your affectionate services, nor shall I ever cease to remember your toleration for my errors, and the kind indulgent friendship wherewith you have ever regarded me. My prayer for you all is, that you may be enabled, by the grace of God, to live the lives and to die the deaths of the righteous—that you hold fast the doctrine which is unto salvation, and grow daily in the faith of the gospel, which both pacifies the conscience and purifies the heart. Quit not, I beseech you, those stations of usefulness to which you were guided, not, I trust, by any human attachment, but by a principle of allegiance to Him who is the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever. Do with all your might that which your hand findeth to do; and more particularly do I crave, that throughout the remaining months of my abode in the midst of you, you will afford me the aid of all your light and experience in the maturing of those final arrangements by which the parish may be transmitted in the best possible condition to my successor.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The resolution thus announced fell upon his agency with all the shock of a surprise. They could scarcely believe that from a position of so much greater publicity, and, as it seemed to the eye of ordinary observation, of so much greater usefulness, Dr. Chalmers would retire to a sphere comparatively limited and obscure. Some wondered upon what principle such a resolution could have been adopted; many felt a disappointment, tinged slightly with chagrin, that from all his own schemes of usefulness, now fairly set in motion, the chief operator should so suddenly withdraw his hand; a few distinctly and heavily condemned. In the acceptance of the Professorship, however, there had been a promptitude which argued previous and mature deliberation; and there was the tone and spirit of such a settled purpose in the letter, that all felt the step to be irrevocably taken. Among the general public of Glasgow the ferment created was as great as among his own devoted flock, but it was not subject to the same restraints. Through different channels, and under the cloak of many flattering words, imputations unjust and ungenerous were cast upon Dr. Chalmers.* Unmoved from his purpose, however pained at heart by the commotion thus excited, he devoted himself with increased assiduity to all the duties of his parish. It had served in no slight degree to recommend the proposal of Dr. Nicoll, that by allowing him to remain for nearly a whole year in Glasgow, it would afford ample time for bringing all his parochial operations into a condition of completeness. Among them there was one which had only recently been commenced, to which a supreme importance was attached. The enormous magnitude of the parish had hitherto proved the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of his favourite design of reaching and reclaiming that portion of the population which had sunk into absolute indifference to religion, and into utter neglect of all its outward ordinances. A few stray visits, made by different persons, scattered over the surface of a year, were altogether insufficient to effect this purpose. To make the enterprise a hopeful one, the visits must be frequent, the operation must be intense ; it must be practicable for the clergyman, by frequent and reiterated attentions, to deepen and render permanent the first impressions of his ministry. In order to realize this, Dr. Chalmers proposed to disjoin from his bulky parish a population of three thousand, to build a new church, and to plant another minister among its families. It was a scheme which, embracing as it did all his other methods of parochial administration, and bringing them into action within manageable limits, was regarded by him as the chief and crowning effort of his ministerial life. Having in vain endeavoured to induce the Magistrates and Council of the city to erect another parish church, he issued a proposal that the funds necessary for the erection of a chapel of ease within the bounds of St. John's parish should be raised by shares of £100 each, on which the ordinary rate of interest should be paid. " Dr. Chalmers," it was stated in the circular sent to a few friends, " begs to assure all the gentlemen whose names are subjoined, that however promising or productive of good the intended chapel may be, he does not ask them to subscribe to it as a scheme of benevolence, but simply lays before them a scheme which bids fair for an adequate remuneration, and to which, if any shall subscribe, he becomes a sharer in a property. He is the more anxious to impress this, as he feels he has drawn very largely on the kindness of his friends already in his former parochial undertakings, and he can truly say that he should be sorry if any were to take a part in this measure unless it agreed with their perfect convenience as well as with their perfect convictions." Having himself taken five shares in the undertaking, and eleven other individuals having each consented to take one share, with the full consent and approbation of the Magistrates and Council, an application was made to the Presbytery of Glasgow to grant a constitution to the intended chapel of ease. By one of the articles of this constitution, it was provided, that the Sabbath collections in the new chapel should be at the disposal of the Session of St. John's, to be applied to the relief of the poor within the chapel district. This article was objected to, and the church-door collections claimed for the general funds of the city. The Presbytery remitted the matter *simpliciter* to the General Assembly of 1822, before which Court Dr. Chalmers made that exposition and defence of his general system of pauper management to which I have already alluded. The Assembly granted, without discussion, all that Dr. Chalmers required. The pecuniary obstacle which arose from the limited amount of the subscription was the only one which now remained, and the "splendid charity" of Mr. Douglas of Cavers, which placed £500 at Dr. Chalmers's disposal for the object, did much to remove this obstacle. The building was commenced, speedily completed, and opened for public worship in May 1823. At a general meeting of his agents, summoned upon the occasion, whilst unfolding all his plans for the future management of the affairs of the chapel, Dr. Chalmers said, " Give me a pious and laborious and unwearied clergyman then, and surround him with co-adjutors of like zeal and principle and Christian philanthropy with himself, and let their devoted and unremitting object be to devise and do every thing by which this chapel might be the organ of a religious blessing to the families who reside within their portion of the vineyard, and I affirm of such an economy, set up and prosecuted with ardour, that it is indeed the likeliest instrument I know, under the countenance of God's

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* Besides many paragraphs in the newspapers, two pamphlets were published at this time, entitled "Reflections on the Address of Dr. Chalmers to the Agency of St. John's, Glasgow, containing his Reasons for Relinquishing the Pastoral Charge of that Parish: Glasgow, 1823;"—and "Defence of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers; addressed to the thinking and unprejudiced part of the Inhabitants of Glasgow: Glasgow, 1823."

Holy Spirit, for clearing out a well-watered garden in the midst of this vast moral wilderness. Nor would I despair, with the territorial rule of seat-letting, which I have always deemed of so much importance, of witnessing in future years the fabric that is just finished filled to an overflow with a local, and at the same time, it is to be hoped, with a pious and spiritual congregation. I should deem it one of the main distinctions of my life, were I in any way instrumental to an achievement so glorious ; nor do I know of a transformation more fitted to affect the heart of a Christian philanthropist than when under a judicious and persevering, and withal religious management of such a district, a portion of the city mass, where Sabbath profaneness and week-day profligacy reigned almost without mitigation, should come at length to be the theatre of ministerial visitations and fellowship meetings and well-educated children and church-going families." The expense of the erection having exceeded the original calculation, Mr. Douglas again came forward and appropriated to this object an additional sum of £500. In June 1823, a minister was ordained, and all looked fair and promising for the future. Dr. Chalmers's removal from Glasgow scarcely lessened the interest with which he watched over the progress of this enterprise. For several years afterwards he made an annual visit to the city of his former labours, preaching in the chapel on five or six Sabbaths consecutively, and visiting the parishioners. Nevertheless this first great step in Church Extension, taken under his own eye and care, signally failed. Many secondary circumstances contributed to this failure. A separate kirk-session was not allowed to the chapel minister, so that he stood to the kirk-session of St. John's very much in the same disadvantageous position in which Dr. Chalmers himself had stood in relation to the General Session of Glasgow. The church-door collections having been appropriated to the poor, the salary of the minister as well as the interest of all the sums which had been advanced, was to be provided for out of the seat-rents. To make this fund sufficient for such a purpose these seat-rents were originally fixed according to a scale so high as to operate prejudicially—to the entire defeat, in fact, of the object aimed at, for not only did the interest remain unpaid, but the current income of the chapel became inadequate to meet its current expenditure, so that it was necessary to assess the original proprietors. His own subsequent experience convinced Dr. Chalmers that with such a population as that committed to this clergyman's care no proprietary chapel could succeed, and that instead of yielding a return for sums originally advanced, two or three hundred pounds per annum would need to be gratuitously devoted to such an undertaking during the first four or five years of its existence. Besides, it unfortunately happened that the clergyman appointed to the charge was deficient in those tactics and habits necessary for one occupying so peculiar a sphere of duty. Though sincerely devoted to the work of the Christian ministry he was not adapted to this kind of charge, and not succeeding at the first, disappointment induced despair. Some years afterwards he wrote to Dr. Chalmers requesting his interference and aid in the way of procuring for him a church elsewhere. The bitterness of that disappointment which he had been doomed to experience had certainly sharpened the tone of the reply; and had it not been for the singularly interesting exhibition of character which it presents, the following letter would certainly have been withheld :—

"EDINBURGH, *December 24th*, 1831.

"DEAR SIR,—I would have replied to your letter of the 9th of November long ago, but I felt the weight and greatness of the subject, and had not strength to grapple with it, while the burden of my classes was upon me. I have taken the earliest opportunity, by taking the first of the holidays, for the difficult task of replying, as I feel I ought, to your communication.

"I trust I have now long ceased to recommend to a public office for the purpose of befriending or benefiting any one. I have sometimes been mistaken; and my judgment, I am very sensible, is just as liable to err as that of other men. But my strong and single purpose, in every case where I am consulted, about the appointment either to chairs or churches, shall be to render an honest advice; and to do it on no other principle than that of the greatest usefulness. I feel more and more the tremendous responsibility which attaches to the utterance of my opinion upon these subjects; and I desire that neither favour nor friendship nor gratitude, nor any personal feelings or interests whatever, shall have the least influence in a deliberation so solemn as that which relates to the education of youth or to the Christian good of families.

"But to apply this to the matter before us. I had much conversation with you ere you undertook your present charge, on the peculiar nature of it. I laboured to impress upon you, that it was only upon the strength of your week-day attentions that you could ever hope to collect there a congregation upon the Sabbaths; that it was, in fact, a missionary station among a very outlandish people; and that the chapel was erected for the praiseworthy object of reclaiming these people to habits of church-going, along with the other decencies and observations of a Christian land—an achievement which I strenuously and repeatedly affirmed could only be carried into effect by unwearied, persevering, daily attentions to them and to their families. I put a paper into your hands, enumerating with great and anxious minuteness these attentions in the order of their importance and efficacy; and when I left Glasgow, we parted with the mutual agreement of exchanging letters once a month on what to me was the most interesting of all topics, the progress of operations on whose success my heart was infinitely more set than on that of any other enterprise on which I have ever ventured in the whole course of my existence.

"I was looking lately to my volume of St. John's sermons, and find that the thirteenth was preached by me on the opening of your chapel. It is now more than eight years since that composition was executed; nor am I conscious of having ever, till the other day, looked at it since. I was therefore the more interested in observing there an exposition of the same principles which I am now insisting on—principles on which I expatiated much and anxiously in your hearing, and still the only principles on which I hold it possible to reclaim a population that have lapsed into a state of practical heathenism. And I must add, that notwithstanding the failure of all my fond and sanguine hopes in the chapelry of St. John's, I will still proclaim it as my faith—that if a minister in your circumstances will but ply with the attention of common and Christian kindness through the week the families of such a district as the one that has been assigned to you—if he will but attend their funerals, and visit their sick-beds, and watch over the deaths of those who are near and dear to them, and take cognizance of their children, and become the affectionate friend and familiar of the common people within the limits of his territory; and if, to lighten the cares and fatigues of such a superintendence, and bring it within the compass of his own individual strength, he will attach to him, by his cordiality and courteousness, a parochial agency, at once to relieve him of his toils and give a tenfold efficacy to his labours—I cannot but aver it as my yet unshaken confidence, that, on these things being done, the result, in the course of years, would be a numerous and steady congregation, gathered out from among the families who had been attached by the services of Christian philanthropy performed in the midst of them. That such a congregation has not been formed in the chapelry of St. John's is to me the most grievous and humbling mortification by far that I ever experienced; but if those things which from the outset I ever held to be indispensable, and which still, with the blessing of God, I hold to be sufficient—if those things have been undone, then, however distressed and disappointed I have been at this individual instance, I will not yet let go my triumphant anticipation, that, by means of the diligence and devotedness of Christian labourers, the worst of our city population may still be Christianized.

" Our regular correspondence ceased within a few months of my leaving Glasgow—a cessation which did not begin with me, for my interest in the success of the enterprise I left behind me never ceased. I heard reports of your * * * and thus having traversed every principle on which I conceived that we had a full common understanding at the outset of your connexion with your present charge. But it is not on the credit given by me to particular reports that I decline the recommendation of you to any other charge. It is on the general fact, that you have not succeeded in a situation where I believe that, with due labour and right management on your part, you would have succeeded. Even though I could allege no evidence against your qualifications, I must, ere I am entitled to exert myself in your favour, have positive evidence for them—and that is an evidence which I altogether want—I dare not, consistently with common honesty, take so much as one step for your removal from your present to another situation. And there are certain circumstances which I must take the liberty of stating, as they serve irresistibly in my opinion to prove, that I could not share in any such attempt without incurring a guilt, the sense of which would oppress and overwhelm my own conscience, and the disclosure of which would, or at least ought, to stamp me with infamy among my fellow-men.

"I made on the chapel and its ground an outlay of seven hundred and fifty pounds, with the expectation certainly of making good the interest, and at length recovering the principal. And I am told by Mr. Paul of such being the deficiency of the receipts, that the account of my obligation, as being the holder of five shares, to make it good, will come to forty pounds a year, entailing upon me therefore, the loss of about eighty pounds a year—an encroachment upon my income which, in my present circumstances and with my present family, I cannot very well afford.

"Now this is the reaction which such a state of things brings upon my feelings; and I believe it will be sympathized with by every man who has in him the soul and the conscience of high-minded integrity. Am I, to rid myself of this oppressive obligation, to recommend away from the chapel of St. John's that minister to whose inefficiency I believe it to be owing? Am I to prostitute, for such an object as this, the confidence which either a patron or a people shall repose in me? Am I to traffic away the immortal interests of men by such a wretched sacrifice of truth and honour and Christian sincerity at the shrine of any earthly interest whatever, whether it be to obtain for myself a temporal enlargement, or to rid myself of a temporal embarrassment? Rather than incur the least shadow or semblance of aught so vile and villanous as this, I will bear the obligation onward with me to my grave, and entail it as a burden upon my children, whom I shall teach that no wealth can ever make up for that best and noblest of all patrimony, the integrity of a father.

"Next to the disappointment of my hopes in regard to a great and extensive reformation by means of your labours amongst the people, the sorest ingredient of this business is, that I have involved Mr. Douglas of Cavers in a burden nearly equal to my own; and in a fifth part of it each of ten or twelve individuals more, the best and worthiest friends I have in the world, and whom I have been the instrument of misleading into a hurtful speculation.

"Never, I used to think, was there a minister placed in a likelier situation than yourself for insuring, by dint of patience and painstaking, a rich harvest of souls, besides the applause and encouragement of the good. I fondly imagined that my chapel, like those of Edinburgh, might have proved a stepping-stone to one of the city churches; or, what would accord still better with my principles and views, that, after having evinced its own vast importance to the Christian interests of the community, it might itself have been transformed into a city church, and its minister been admitted to the full privileges which attach to a regular city clergyman. May the same mysterious Power who hath humbled and chastised my lofty expectation again reassure me; and may you yet experience, in your own future history, what the missionary Elliot recorded at the termination of his labours, that it is in the power of prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, to do anything.

"I leave the representation which I have now given to its effect upon your own conscience. The effect upon mine is, that I cannot possibly comply with your request, that I should recommend you to any other situation in the Church.—I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully, THOMAS CHALMERS."

It is due to the gentleman to whom this letter was addressed to state, that under a sense of his unfitness for the peculiar sphere in which he had been placed, he soon afterwards voluntarily relinquished more than half of the limited salary which the proprietors of the chapel had engaged to advance, in order that an assistant and successor might be appointed.

It was but rarely during the period of his residence in Glasgow that Dr. Chalmers took part in the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts. In the ordinary routine business of these Courts he felt comparatively little interest; and of the general tenor of their decisions in matters strictly ecclesiastical, he did not approve. Occasionally, however, when large interests were involved, or favourite designs were likely to be thwarted, with all his accustomed ardour he threw himself into the ecclesiastical encounter; and as he came with his heavy armour all fitted on and furbished well beforehand, he cleared a wide space around him, and dealt forth many a heavy stroke.

In the General Assemblies of 1821 and 1822, he rendered most effective aid to the movement which was then making with a view to modify and extend the theological education of candidates for the holy ministry. As the matter stood, there were many different ways in which, after his four years' attendance on the literary and philosophical classes, a student might qualify himself for being taken on trial for license by a Presbytery of the Church. He might give regular attendance during three, and partial attendance during one session, at any of the Divinity Halls; or, without hearing a single course of lectures on theology, by his mere presence for a few days at one of the University seats in the course of six successive sessions, and by performing a few prescribed exercises, he might qualify himself for the ministry. Between these two, which may be regarded as the extreme methods, there were various ways adopted by students, and allowed by the Church, of compounding together sessions of regular and irregular attendance upon the theological classes. The object of those with whom Dr. Chalmers now co-operated was to abolish altogether the six years' occasional attendance, to make a regular attendance for three full sessions to be in every case imperative, and to enjoin that at least two years' attendance should be given on the classes of Hebrew and Church History. The speech of Dr.

Chalmers in the General Assembly of 1821 in favour of the proposed reformation was one of the most brilliant which he ever delivered before the Supreme Court of his Church. Its most powerful passages were afterwards embodied in the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," and in his work on the "Use and Abuse of Literary Endowments."* It was not till after many discussions and defeats that the object which Dr. Chalmers and his friends had in view was attained, and the standard of theological qualification for the ministry in the Church of Scotland permanently raised.

In the last year of his Glasgow ministry two questions arose, one of which perplexed Dr. Chalmers almost as much by its triviality as the other excited him by its magnitude, while both obliged him to run the gauntlet in all the Courts of the Church, and to appear personally before Presbytery and Synod and Assembly. The large number of communicants, and the small number of those who could be accommodated at tables of communion, running as they then usually did in single lines along the aisles, prolonged the services of a sacramental Sabbath in St. John's to a wearisome and unprofitable length. By turning, however, a certain number of pews in the lower part of the church into communion tables, and reducing the number of ministerial addresses to communicants, the services were materially and most beneficially abbreviated. This plan was followed to the great comfort of the worshippers in St. John's, and with a very general concurrence of public feeling in its favour. As intelligence, however, of the innovation spread abroad, it reached the ears of more than one reverend stickler for the good old way of sitting in the aisles, upon whose ecclesiastical consciences such grievous injury was inflicted, that they could not rest till they had dragged the daring innovator before the tribunals of the Church for judgment. It was in vain that they were remonstrated with as to the awkwardness of turning such a topic into a subject of grave ecclesiastical debate. Rather than that such a scandal should be endured, and the ancient practice of the Church be set aside, they would carry the question from the Presbytery and Synod to the General Assembly, and their sturdy purpose was achieved.

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* For the portions of this speech not hitherto published, see Appendix M.

"I do exceedingly regret," said Dr. Chalmers, as he stood before the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, "that this matter was ever brought before the Synod at all. It is quite obvious from the speeches of some of the members, that there must have been a world of misconception on a topic which, I think, so far at least as the proceedings in my own church are concerned, I could have removed. There is no exclusion of the poor—there is no indiscriminate admittance of the qualified and unqualified—there is no disappearance of the table on which our sacramental elements are placed in full view of the communicants, and, above all, there is nothing to confound our sacramental Sabbath with an ordinary Sabbath; and the whole effect of the change, or rather of the very great improvement that has been made upon our administration, is, that while all the essential requisites of this great Christian feast are more scrupulously adhered to, there has been established a comfort and an order and a solemnity that under the old style of management was utterly unattainable.

"I think that I could satisfy every spectator of the truth of these assertions, and was not without hopes of having had an opportunity of doing so to the original mover in this business ere he had stirred so ostensibly therein. Ere that very innocent practice was established, which I was not the first to introduce into the churches of our Establishment, the day of a sacrament in St. John's was a day of discomfort and almost intolerable suffering from the pressure and the stifling almost to suffocation, and the way in which every inch of progress to the tables was fought for by the crowd of competitors who, during the time of seven table services, stood wedged in the long but narrow access that led to them. And it is erroneous to think that under the present arrangement there is nothing left to signalize a day of communion from an ordinary Sabbath. There is the same table for the accommodation of the elements, and at which the minister presides in the view of all the congregation, as there is in the other churches of the city. There is the same decent covering of white extended before all the communicants. It is true that the partakers are not so placed as to look one to another, but what is of more importance, and carries in it a greater propriety, they are all so placed as to look to the minister who addresses them. It is also true that they do not sit *about* a table, but they sit *at* a table, and about it or at it, is the express utterance that is left to us by the words of our Directory. We could in this way press all the middle seats in the body of the church into the peculiar service of the day; but anxious only for as much relief as would make it a day of tolerable ease and comfort to all parties, we only required about one-half of these seats. There is not a sitter present, and I believe not a minister who ever witnessed the ceremonial, that will not vouch for it as being far more impressive and far more characteristic of a day of sacredness than were the crush, and the bustle, and the irritation, and the whole tribe both of moral and physical discomforts that were attendant on the old style of ministration. It is a service now to which many delicate and infirm can repair, who never could have ventured themselves into a squeeze that, without the powers of a robust constitution, was almost overwhelming.

"Such, Moderator, is my aversion to controversy, that I would infinitely rather if no hearing were necessary. The element of debate is one in which I breathe with the utmost discomfort: and to be surrounded with uncongenial minds and uncongenial feelings, is a thing of as great dread and desolation to me as to be placed in the midst of a vast howling wilderness. And surely, my brethren, it is not for us to be ever standing in battle array, as if no game were dearer and more delightful to us than that of combats. There is enough to vex and to agitate the Church without making a trifle to light up a torch of discord in the midst of us; and, therefore, while I cannot give up without a struggle the substantial advantage of my present arrangement, while I cannot willingly recur to the bustle and the pressure and the fatigue, and the oppressive length and weariness of our old services, yet sure I am, that if we can be protected from these, and all that is required be some meaner sacrifice, about which it were utterly childish either to have or to prolong a controversy, then should I most honestly rejoice in some accommodation that might restore us to the peace which I love and to the cordiality of this brotherhood, which I feel indeed most anxious to maintain.

" I shall only say, that my general dislike to controversy is aggravated and made far more intense when I bethink myself of this controversy. I declare, that on the question whether the communicants should look at each other, or should all look in one way to the minister, I would be positively ashamed to appear as a combatant even on the right side of it. I can conceive nothing more fitted to make our Church the laughing-stock of the public, and the business of our Church the jeer and the scorn of infidelity, than the exhibition of so many grave and grown-up ecclesiastics letting themselves down to the arena of a discussion in every way so paltry and so puerile. This is not a matter for which the peace and unanimity of our Church ought to have been hazarded, and can scarcely be obtruded upon the public notice without reminding observers of the fierce and frequent agitations of a former age, when tippets and surplices, and priestly garments, and sacramental postures formed the materials of many a sore and disquieting argument. I cannot find it in my heart to feel a greater homage for the table controversy than I have for the tippet controversy of a generation that has now gone by; and sorry should I be if our Church, by descending to entertain it, shall let itself down to the taunt and the scorn of a public whose literature, and whose cultivated intellect, and whose powers of searching or satirical discernment have so wofully outrun its Christianity. Yes, my brethren, there are fitter and nobler topics for our ecclesiastical judicatories. The country has higher demands upon us than to waste our strength or our time upon such puny altercations. It were more befitting the dignity of this Court if, instead of lavishing its wisdom on a thing so trivial as what may be called the etiquette of ordinances, it were to look abroad on those melancholy wastes where both the spirit and the form of our ordinances are alike disregarded; if instead of exhausting our own forces on a paltry and vexatious warfare within, we were to turn them in one mighty combination against the power of the common enemy; if instead of turning upon us the eye of a jeering world, we should compel its reverence by the character of importance and of worth which sat upon all our deliberations; in a word, if we should match and master the spirit of this infidel age by a lofty sense upon our part of the lofty interests that are confided to us, and instead of stooping to the imbecility of points, if we came forth in the whole business of our courts and of our parishes armed with the reason and authority of unquestionable principle."

How this great controversy of the tables was disposed of by the supreme judicatory of the Church was thus pleasingly related by Dr. Chalmers, many years afterwards, when lecturing to his students in Edinburgh about zeal for circumstantials and the magnifying of small matters in religion:—" If," said he, " there be any geographical distinction between one part of Scotland and another in this respect, I would say that the interesting relics of the olden pertinaciousness and the olden zeal for little things, are to be found most abundantly in the west. I am sure I affirm this without the slightest feeling of reproach or even of disrespect. Were there no other principle, indeed, than my love of antiquities, I should feel inclined to regard this peculiarity with the utmost toleration; for, agreeably to the general law which I have just announced to you, I have found it associated in that part of our Establishment with so much of upright and pure and resolute assertion in behalf of great principles, that I, with all my heart, forgive the obstinacy of this adherence to small points, and retain in their favour a very large surplus of high and positive esteem to the bargain. For example, they have been all along the sturdy champions of non-pluralism in the Church, of ministerial residence in the parishes, of sacredness in Sabbath observation, of the cause of Christianity at home by their incessant efforts to enlarge the Church accommodation, and of the cause of Christianity abroad by the support which they have ever rendered both to Bible and Missionary and Colonial societies. After this goodly enumeration of great and noble services, the occasional littleness wherewith they at times may be associated are like spots on the sun, and I am sure ought to be viewed in no other light than with the most good-natured indulgence, just as one views the feebleness or peculiarities of some aged friend for whose substantial worth at the same time we have a just veneration. Accordingly, it is not within the limits of the Bothwell region—that land of sturdy principle, signalized by the exploits and the martyrdoms of our covenanting forefathers—where I would attempt the slightest innovation on their ancient forms, however harmless, or even to a certain extent beneficial; seeing there are many there who, on the proposition of any change, however insignificant, will resist you by saying they will never consent to let down even the smallest pin of the tabernacle. There was an attempt some time ago to introduce the organ into the Scottish Kirk—it was the most unwise of all enterprises to attempt it in the west. Since that the abomination of a painted window in one of the churches was obtruded on the public gaze; but it could not be permitted to stand another Sabbath in the west. To read the line in psalm-singing is one of the venerable and antique peculiarities of our land; and the abolition of it met with far the sturdiest resistance in the west. The antipathy to paper in the pulpit, which used to be in force all over Scotland, is still in greatest force and inveteracy in the west. I state not this for the purposes of levity or ridicule, but of presenting to your notice the very peculiar conjunction which I have just now remarked upon between a zeal for great principles, mixed up, as it often is, in the history of the Church, with a zeal and tenaciousness about the merest bagatelles. The west is the very quarter to which I look most hopefully for the revival of our Church and the maintenance of our highest moral and religious interests; and however amused therefore with the innocent peculiarities to which I have just now adverted, it cannot dispossess the veneration and serious regard wherewith I look at that portion of our Church—very much, in fact, as our General Assembly looked at the question which broke out about the tables, and finally disposed of it—when our venerable mother, sitting in her collective wisdom, was called on to decide the quarrel that had broken out among her children, she allowed me, the one party, to continue the table-service in the way I had found to be most convenient; but, instead of laying aught like severity or rebuke upon the other, she, while disappointing them of their plea, dismissed them at the same time with a look of the most benignant complacency."*

In March 1823 a presentation to the Inner High Church of

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* See *Posthumous Works*, vol. ix. pp. 394-396.

Glasgow was issued by the Crown in favour of the Rev. Dr. Duncan Macfarlane, Principal of the University of Glasgow. On the 11th June this presentation was laid before the Presbytery, when after some discussion it was agreed that it should lie on their table till next meeting, for the purpose of mature deliberation on the peculiar circumstances of the case. It was not doubted that the Church had full liberty to receive or to reject such a presentation. There was a general concurrence in the judgment delivered by Dr. Hill—" that the Church Courts have sufficient power to prevent any union of offices when the duties of the two are found incompatible." In favour of that particular union of offices which the Presbytery of Glasgow was now required to sanction, not one redeeming or extenuating circumstance could be urged. The duties of each office were sufficiently onerous, if discharged aright, to fill up all the time, and exhaust all the energies of the ablest occupant ; and both were amply endowed. If such a plurality were permitted it would be difficult to discover upon what principle any plurality could be condemned. With Dr. Chalmers special circumstances conspired to awaken the most determined resistance to this contemplated conjunction. He had been struggling for years to convince the Church and the public that in our large cities a population of eight or ten thousand, many of whose families had sunk into the lowest condition of ignorance and irreligion, was much too large for any minister to undertake. He had got his friends to supply the funds, and the Church to give her sanction to the disjoining a portion of his own parish, and to the erection of an additional church within its bounds. Other three clergymen of Glasgow having imbibed his principles, and being animated by his example, had originated measures for the erection of chapels of ease in their respective parishes. The grand process, on which he believed so much to hang, of breaking down the overgrown parishes into districts small enough to be thoroughly pervaded, had most hopefully commenced. But it would traverse all the principles which he had so strenuously advocated; it would falsify all that he had said about overwrought ministers and overpeopled parishes; it would tie up his hands from ever soliciting again from the civil or ecclesiastical authorities that clerical labourers should be multiplied and clerical labour be subdivided; it would do much to check the career so auspiciously commenced, and to darken the hopes which now brightened its earliest stages, if the Church herself were to take a parish which was as large and as difficult to manage as St. John's, and commit it to the care of one who was already burdened with the duties of a Principal. Most willingly and heartily, therefore, did Dr. Chalmers co-operate with Dr. Macgill and the other opponents of pluralities in resisting the settlement of Dr. Macfarlane as minister of the High Church. Their first efforts were successful. By a considerable majority the Presbytery of Glasgow "judged it to be both inexpedient and incompetent to proceed in the presentation laid on their table to Dr. Macfarlane, in respect that he appears to them to be, *in hoc statu*, an unqualified presentee." Against this judgment Dr. Macfarlane protested, and appealed to the ensuing Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. On the 16th October the Synod proceeded to consider this appeal from the judgment of the Presbytery. The legal and constitutional grounds on which the Presbytery had acted were ably stated by Dr. Macgill and others. It was reserved for Dr. Chalmers to allude to the allegation which had been industriously circulated, and which had found a place even in the papers submitted to the Court, that those who resisted the settlement of Dr. Macfarlane were resisting the supreme power in the State, were acting the part of disloyal subjects of the Crown. After some general observations he proceeded to deal with this allegation. —"I would have said no more, but for one affirmation in the reasons of the appellant, even that this proceeding of ours is 'disrespectful to the Crown.' That is indeed a noble anecdote of British jurisprudence in the preface to De Lolme's 'Essay on the British Constitution.' On his first arrival in London, he attended a court of law, when the cause happened to be a question between a subject and a prince of the blood. It was decided for the subject, and against the prince—a circumstance which in itself was quite enough to surprise the foreigner. But there was an accompaniment to the thing which surprised him infinitely more than the thing itself; and that is, that no surprise whatever was either felt or expressed by the spectators—not even one movement of popular satisfaction, and no mobbish or tumultuary delight because of the poor man's triumph, and the great man's overthrow. And why? because the thing just happened in the even and ordinary course of English justice; it was but an everyday incident in the administration of law; and of the whole assembled public who were present, and had looked calmly and intelligently on throughout the whole of the process, not one discovered the slightest astonishment, not one betrayed any indecent exultation at the verdict, because it was precisely the verdict which, from the abstract merits of the case, they had been led to anticipate. It was this which gave to this enlightened stranger his profoundest sense of the excellence of our constitution; and this is the origin of far the soundest treatise which has appeared on the government and constitution of our highly privileged land.

"Now this is a noble anecdote. It has the moral sublime in it; and were I called to fix upon the thing that should be placed over against it in most direct and humiliating contrast, it should just be this reason of the appellant. It is a reason I could not have dared to utter in your hearing, lest you had rebuked me into silence for so presuming on the paltry and pusillanimous stuff which this venerable Court was made of. It is a bugbear to frighten children; and foreign as it is to all the habitudes of English justice, it would indeed sound most strangely in English ears. It smells of feudalism all over; and in politics, it is as unlike to the true spirit of British loyalty as in religion a drivelling superstition is unlike to the homage of a rational and enlightened piety. Take my word for it, Sir, that no feeling of the sort exists at head-quarters; nay, were the whole truth known, the feeling there would be exactly the reverse. In the hurry and hard-driving of the public offices, things are often done before the evil tendency is understood, and then a loop-hole of retreat is deemed of all things to be the most desirable. And were it only known with what fond, yet painful interest, the whole of Scotland was now looking on; were it known that our Kirk, with all its errors, was still the dearest object of our people's veneration; were it known how much it is that the righteousness of her measures is fitted to gladden all the land, and to pour the sunshine of an honest triumph into the very humblest of our cottages; were it known that, by this appointment, the most loyal magistracy in our empire have been thwarted, and the purest and most patriotic designs for the public weal are now placed on a brink of fearful uncertainty;—were all this known, I feel sure, as of my existence, that the royal complacency would smile upon our calumniated labours, and not upon the men who could degrade their sovereign into a scarecrow, and prostitute his venerated name to the service of a hurtful and unhallowed usurpation.

"I am far from alleging anything personal against the presentee, whom I know to be a most accomplished gentleman, and whose talent and energy and literature fit him so well for gracing the high office wherewith he is invested, and shedding an illustration on the distinguished University over which he presides. I would be far from making him an offender for a word, and am most willing to believe that this obnoxious clause hath crept inadvertently into his paper; at least, I am quite sure that he could have no unworthy or dishonourable purpose by its insertion, and perhaps was not even aware, at the time, of its undoubted tendency to fasten a political odium on our side of the question, and to implicate in the charge of disaffection a set of men whom he knows to be as orthodox in their politics, and in every way as leal-hearted as himself. If I have been betrayed into any warmth, it is not the warmth of personal antipathy, but of public principle; for it is indeed mine honest conviction, that if this decision of our Presbytery be finally carried, there is not a single blow by which, on the one hand, a deadlier infliction can be laid on Radicalism, and, on the other, the cause of royalty be more surely rivetted in the hearts of my countrymen. There will be a tumult of delight throughout all our borders, but a moral reverence for the throne will mingle loud and high with our nation's ecstasy. The king—God bless him! will gather in every Scottish eye a fresh lustre upon his diadem; and with such an intermedium between him and his subjects as a pure and disinterested Church, nothing, from one end of the land to the other of it, nothing will pass upwardly to the royal ear but the plaudits of a grateful and rejoicing population."

After a lengthened hearing of the case, the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr affirmed the sentence of the Presbytery of Glasgow, and the matter was carried by appeal before the General Assembly of 1824. In the debate which took place upon the question before the Supreme Court, Dr. Chalmers made another effort to avert from the Church the dreaded evil; but the spirit which had been evoked in the west of Scotland had not yet spread widely enough over the country, and when the vote was taken in the General Assembly, it was decided, by a large majority, that the sentence of the Presbytery of Glasgow should be reversed, and that Dr. Macfarlane should be admitted as minister of the High Church.

CHAPTER XVI.

DR. CHALMERS IN THE BOSOM OF HIS FAMILY—IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS RELATIVES—IN GENERAL SOCIETY—IN SECRET BEFORE GOD.

Mr. Irving remained for two years in Glasgow as Dr. Chalmers's assistant, after which he was called to the Metropolis, where a speedy and unbounded popularity raised him to an elevation such as no Presbyterian minister before or since has ever reached in London. Even in Glasgow there were not a few who became enthusiastically attached both to his person and his ministry. It could not well be otherwise. Mr. Carlyle has said of him—and assuming his point of view, we doubt not the perfect truthfulness of the picture—" What the Scottish uncelebrated Irving was, they that have only seen the London celebrated (and distorted) one can never know. His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came into contact with. I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever (after trial enough) found in the world, or now hope to find." Such a man was never without devoted friends. In his preaching, although breaking through all common trammels, he was, while in Glasgow, still under a species of restraint. His conscious power had not yet full freedom, and was working (perhaps it would have been better had it continued to do so) under checks. Many, however, saw and felt that power, and admired its products. " His preaching," said Dr. Chalmers to his successor, " is like Italian music, appreciated only by connoisseurs." On leaving Glasgow Mr. Irving delivered a farewell oration, in which the whole wealth of his magniloquent phraseology was lavished upon an eulogy of Dr. Chalmers, to which, in the presence of the St. John's congregation, Dr. Chalmers was forced to listen. The manuscript was left for publication. The proof-sheets having been sent to Dr. Chalmers for revision, in his absence fell happily into hands discreet enough to reduce the high-flown panegyric within the bounds of reasonable praise. Returning some months afterwards to Glasgow, his printed sermon was handed to Mr. Irving, who, on looking over it, broke out into expressions of astonishment and indignation at the liberties which had been taken with his production, expressions which had been more measured had he known who the culprit was.* Though himself innocent of the mutilation, Dr. Chalmers rejoiced at the result. "My dear Sir," he said, speaking of it to a friend, "if that sermon of Mr. Irving's had been published as he delivered it, what would the world have said both of us and of St. John's congregation, but that we were all members of a joint-stock puff manufactory." The friend to whom this was said was the Rev. Mr. Smyth, Mr. Irving's successor in the assistantship of St. John's, to whom, as having lived for some time in the family—his own most kindly nature laying him open to all its genial influences—we are indebted for the following picture of Dr. Chalmers's domestic life, as well as for the tribute to the memory of her who, while the pages of the first volume of these Memoirs were informing thousands of her priceless worth, was withdrawn, in the peace and hope of the gospel, from all the approval and fellowships of earth to the more kindred communion of the heavens. "It was on Saturday, June 8, 1822," says Dr.

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* The abridgments had been effected by Mrs. Chalmers, to whom Mr. Irving was particularly attached, and whom he used to call his second mother.

Smyth, "that I joined Dr. Chalmers at Limekilns for Glasgow. I shall never forget the kindness which he showed me that day. Although a native of the west of Scotland, I had not been in the city of Glasgow since my childhood, and that merely for a few minutes. All was new and strange. My heart was full, and my anxiety was intense. Well do I recollect how thoroughly Dr. Chalmers made me acquainted with the localities through which we passed along the Canal. 'Come now, my dear Sir,' (I seem at this moment to hear the very words,) 'and I will initiate you into the mystery of the locks,' a mystery which I had never seen before. At intervals he was busily occupied with the perusal of Sibb's 'Soul's Conflict,' a book which he greatly valued on account of its deep experimental character. We reached Glasgow on Saturday evening, and had a most affectionate welcome from the Doctor's family, including his aunt Jean, as she was lovingly called, an old lady with whom I afterwards spent many happy hours. When we entered the dining-room for tea, my eye lighted on a table literally covered with letters, the accumulation of a few days. It appeared to me a most Herculean task for any man to address himself to the reading, how much more to the answering, of some fifty or sixty epistles on all varieties of subjects, public and private. It was Dr. Chalmers's practice at this time to reply to his correspondents, whenever it was practicable for him to do so, in course of post. In his answers he generally confined himself to the matter immediately on hand, waiving prefaces, and getting at once *in medias res.* In this way, although, perhaps, no man in Britain had a more extensive and multifarious correspondence, he succeeded in never falling behind with his answers. I have repeatedly seen him reply to ten or twelve letters in the course of an hour. In this respect, as in others, our venerated friend was a striking example of the power of methodical adherence to a fixed system in accomplishing what to most men would have been an insuperable labour.—Sabbath, June 9th, was the commencement of my public work in Glasgow. I preached in the school-house in the morning, and in the parish church in the afternoon, and heard Dr. Chalmers in the evening. The Lord was very gracious and helpful: I got through with calmness, and felt, I trust, thankful for better strength than my own. Arrangements were made for my continuance in Glasgow several weeks, and during that period I had ample opportunities of becoming well acquainted with Dr. Chalmers's 'manner of life,' as well as of his mighty enterprises for the temporal and spiritual welfare of men. Many have been under the impression that Dr. Chalmers was more a man of powerful impulses, who achieved wonderful things by fits and starts of burning zeal, than of systematic persevering application of mind. There never was a greater mistake. With all his transcendent genius and talent and philanthropy, I am satisfied that the main secret of his strength lay in his indomitable resolution to master whatever he undertook. What has been considered by some as a defect was indeed an excellence of no common order. When convinced that it was his duty to address himself to some course of study or of action, he concentrated on that his energies of mind and body, and with indefatigable assiduity completed his work, unless some urgent call of duty, which did not admit of postponement, interfered. Dr. Chalmers devoted at least five hours each day to study;—I use the word in its proper sense;—he was thus studiously occupied partly before breakfast, and thereafter till one or two o'clock in reading and composition. These were his hours, and it was understood that they were, except in the event of some special emergency, not to be invaded by friend or stranger. It being midsummer when I first resided under his roof he generally relaxed for two hours, taking some favourite walk, and kindly inviting me to accompany him. The

Botanic Garden was a much loved resort. He luxuriated among the plants and flowers of the season, and delighted to examine minutely the structure and the beauties of some humble production that would have escaped the notice of a less practised eye. He said to me one day, after he had been rapt in admiration of Nature and Nature's God—'I love to dwell on the properties of one flower at a time; to fix my mind on it exclusively until I feel that it has taken complete hold of my mind. This is a peculiarity of my constitution. I must have concentration of thought on any given thing, and not be diverted from it.' My attention was arrested in the garden by a sun-flower of large dimensions and exquisite colouring. He said, with deep emotion, 'Oh that we could so open our hearts to the beams of the Sun of righteousness!' It was in such scenes that one not only saw but felt that the train of thought was heavenward—that his heart and his treasure were in Heaven.

"He dined generally at half-past four o'clock; and it was Dr. Chalmers's practice to sally forth, as he playfully expressed it, after dinner, from his house in Windsor Place to St. John's parish, spending at least two hours several nights in the week among his parishioners. In these visits it was repeatedly my high privilege to accompany him. They were generally short but most instructive—*multum in parvo.* He possessed a singular power of stating the sum and substance of the Gospel in a few comprehensive and most weighty sentences, and closed each visit with a most appropriate prayer. * * * The more advanced hours of the evening were spent in a less onerous way—letter-writing, or the literature of the day, or the society of friends who partook of his large-hearted hospitality and that of his beloved household. In no respect did Dr. Chalmers present a more attractive example of all that is kind and lovely than in the bosom of his own family. His children were young, but they were to him objects of daily and most affectionate interest; he was playful amongst them even to occasional romping. His smile of fatherly love was ever ready to encourage their approaches; and when absent for a few weeks he printed little letters for their acceptance. I can hardly trust myself, even at the distance of so many years, with detailed references to that once happy and precious home in which it was my lot to spend several months. The united heads of it have been removed from that household of which they were at once the ornament and the glory—revered—beloved—shedding down on children and domestics sweet and hallowed influences binding all in one home-circle of warm and steadfast attachment. I may be permitted here to record my tribute of affectionate reverence for the memory of Mrs. Chalmers. To have been the wife of such a man afforded a strong presumption of qualities which *he* thoroughly estimated; and none who knew his lamented wife well could fail to be satisfied that she was in all respects a help-meet for her distinguished husband. Possessed of talents decidedly superior, of large and varied information, of warm-hearted affections, and of what is infinitely better, enlightened and decided piety, Mrs. Chalmers commanded the esteem and the confidence of her family and her friends. Her judgment was calm, sound, and comprehensive. She possessed a tact and a delicacy of perception which fitted her for being a wise and faithful counsellor. Dr. Chalmers had *unlimited confidence in her discretion.* He felt that her coincidence with him in opinion or in plans was of great value. She strengthened his hands and encouraged his heart in every labour of love. Nor did she ever forget the limits of a woman's sphere: exquisite feminine delicacy was united with great vigour and promptitude of mind. Habitually cheerful and happy, there was a sunshine of the soul which even the clouds of affliction did not obscure. Her health frequently suffered, but this trial served to bring out more fully the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. Thoroughly conversant with Dr. Chalmers's views in regard to many exciting questions, she entered into his enthusiastic defences and expositions of them with her whole heart. And with what gentle affection she poured a healing balm into the waters when ruffled, or in danger of being so, tendering some word in season that bound up the wound which ignorance or envy had inflicted. Her kindness to myself during my repeated sojournings I trust that I shall never forget. I experienced in her society much that was calculated to guide my inexperience, and to strengthen me for private and public duty. Her discernment of character was remarkable. It seemed as if by intuition she could at once discriminate between the true and the false-hearted, and yet there was the charity which hopeth all things. As a wife, a mother, a mistress, a friend, a disciple of Him who was meek and lowly in spirit, few are better entitled to affection's warmest tribute. It was my mournful privilege to be with her on that day which covered Scotland's Church and people in sackcloth ; and after the mortal remains of the husband who had been so many years the dearest object of love were deposited in the grave, not one murmuring or impatient word escaped her lips ; all was lowly submission to her Father's good and righteous will—a widow indeed, but firmly trusting in the widow's God, and raising her agonized yet confiding heart to Him who was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. The conflict of nature was severe, but the victory of faith was not denied. Her sainted spirit had communion in its sorrows with the unsuffering inhabitants of heaven, and after a brief season of earthly tribulation, she, too, has entered the rest that remaineth for the people of God. May we be indeed followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises."

It was one of Dr. Chalmers's earliest prayers for her who was afterwards to be his wife—"Oh, my God, pour thy best blessings on G. Give her ardent and decided Christianity; may she be the blessing and the joy of all around her; may her light shine while she lives, and when she dies, may it prove to be a mere step—a transition in her march to a joyful eternity."* It was while so many were reading this prayer for the first time that the last of its petitions was fulfilled.

At the time of his removal to St. Andrews, which was now approaching, Dr. Chalmers's family consisted of four daughters. "You know," he said, in announcing the birth of one of them, "my preference for daughters. I honestly believe they are the better article of the two." The eldest of his family was six years old when the following letters were printed for her:—

"DUNBLANE, *Saturday evening.*

"MY DEAR ANNE,—I rode all the way from Glasgow to this place on the top of a coach. When I came here I found Mr. Buchanan standing at the place where the coach stopped, and he was very glad to see me, and shook hands with me, and took me to Mrs. Buchanan and Miss Taylor. I dined with them, and then went to another house, where I pay money to the person who lives in it for allowing me to have a room of the house to myself. In this room I sleep, and eat, and study, and see all the people that call upon me.

"There is a number of people from Glasgow and other places in this town, living in rooms of different houses like myself. The thing which brings them here is a well of water about two miles off, of a very bad taste, but it is good for the health to drink it. That is the reason why I have come here, and I drink the water every day. I went one morning to the well, and there was a great number of ladies and gentlemen all drinking the water out of tumblers. But instead of going so far as the well before breakfast, I get the water brought to my room, and I drink six tumblers full of it every morning.

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* See vol. i. p. 291.

"I began this letter on Saturday, but I find it very slow work, and cannot do much at a time, so that it is now Wednesday. I preached on Sunday at Lecropt. The church is so small, and the number of people was so great, that I had to preach out of doors. You know that in the Sauchope Hall road the watchmen go into a kind of wooden presses; well, Papa got into one of these presses and preached to the people, who were standing or sitting on the grass.

"I do not see Anne, or Eliza, or Mamma, yet I am often thinking of them, and love them much, and pray that we may all please God and meet in heaven. I am your earthly father, God is your heavenly Father, and He is always thinking of you, and loves you, and wants you to be fit for seeing Him in that happy and glorious place where Christ sitteth at His right hand. Papa has written you this letter to let you know how much he wishes you to be good and obedient to your parents, and sorry for your faults, and desirous of becoming better, being kind and respectful to all who are older than yourself. And so likewise has your Father in heaven written you a letter, a very large letter, that has been printed and made into a book, the name of which you very well know. And what I want you to do with that book is to read it, and to do what it bids you, and to mind what it tells you, and to pray that God would enable you more and more to understand and to love it; for be assured, my dear Anne, that it is only by taking our lesson from God, and doing the will of God, that we can either please Him in time, or be happy with Him in eternity.

"I am now to write the rest of this letter to Mamma, but when she is done with reading it she will give it back to you, and you will keep it as your own.

"Be a good girl yourself, and tell Eliza that Papa bids her be a good girl also."

"KIRKALDY, *Tuesday, November 16th*, 1819.

"MY DEAR ANNE,—I mean to write a very long letter to Mamma, but have not yet time to finish it; I will therefore write a few things to you just now. It was yesterday when I left Glasgow, but I had not time to call in at the nursery to see you and Eliza, for I was afraid I would be too late for the boat. So I went up to the Canal, and got on to the steamboat, where you remember that you once were. Now there are two steamboats at that place, and each of them likes to get in a great number of people, because the more people go into the boat, the more money comes to the owners. Well, after the two boats left the land there was a great strive betwixt them who should sail fastest, and the people in the different boats got very angry at one another, and the boat that I was in struck the other boat, and it shook in such a way that one of the men in this other boat fell into the water, and he would have sunk down to the bottom of the sea and been drowned, but he was able to swim, and he kept himself a long time upon the water, and he cried out to the people in the boats to help him, for both the boats were sailing fast away from him, and if we had left the poor man in the sea he would have sunk down to the bottom of it and died.

"Papa saw the poor man in the water, and he heard him cry, and he was very much afraid that the man would not be taken out again, and that so, if he has any little children like you, or Eliza, or Grace, they would have lost their papa. Well then, the other boat put out a little boat with men in it to go after him, and our boat turned round and went up to him, and we threw out a rope, and he got hold of the end of it, and we drew him out of the water and into the boat, and the poor man was so wet and so cold that he trembled very much. But

My dear Anne. Kirkaldy. Tuesday November 16th - 1819.

I mean to write a ~~v~~very long letter to mamma but have not yet time to finish it. I will therefore write a few things to you just now. It was yesterday, when I left Glasgow but I had not time to call in at the nursery, to see you and Eliza, for I was afraid I would be too late for the boat. So I went up to the canal, and got on to the steam boat where you remember that you once were. Now there are two steam boats at that place, and each of them likes to get in a great number of people, because the more people go in to the boat, the more money comes to the owners. Well after the two boats left the land. there was a great strive betwixt them who should sail fastest, and the people in the different boats got very angry at one another, and the boat that I was in struck the other boat, and it shook in such away, that one of the men in this other boat fell into the water, and he would have sunk down to the bottom of the sea and

he was very glad, and we were all very glad that we had saved his life.

"I came to Kirkaldy yesternight, and slept in uncle Sandy's new house; and this day before dinner I married Sandy to aunt Helen, and her name is no longer Miss Pratt but Mistress Chalmers. We had nobody at the marriage but grandpapa Pratt, and grandmamma Pratt, and Miss Willis, and the servant. Grandpapa Pratt was dressed in a red coat and gold buttons like a soldier. There is a very curious custom here, that when people are married the boys get money for buying a foot-ball to play with. After dinner there came one set of boys and got three shillings, then there came other boys rapping at the door, and they got three shillings, then after that there came more boys still, and they also got three shillings, however when other boys came, making a great noise and calling out through the key-hole, 'Oh, doctor, if you please, give us a foot-ball,' we thought that we had given away enough of money, and would give no more, so they ran off, and huzza'd upon the street; and I will write Mamma afterwards how we got home from grandmamma Pratt's house to the new house of uncle Sandy.

"Be a good girl. Papa loves you. God loves you. Papa sends you a letter, and tells you a number of things, but the great use of a letter from Papa is to tell you to be good. God has also sent you a letter, and that letter is the Bible, and the Bible tells you many things about kings and prophets, and wars, and families, but the great use of the Bible is to make you good. If you do all that the Bible bids you, and believe all that the Bible tells you, you will be taken up to heaven, and be for ever happy with God.

"Learn about Jesus Christ, and love Him because He is your Saviour, and keep His commandments. Be very kind and good to Eliza, and tell her that Papa loves her very much.—Yours truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

His father's family was now widely scattered, and in the tumult of such a life as he lived in Glasgow, it was not easy for Dr. Chalmers to sustain a very regular correspondence with any of them. At Anstruther, the bustle of a large and stirring household had been exchanged for the stillness of an almost deserted dwelling. Of her fourteen children, one daughter only was left with Mrs. Chalmers to cheer her solitary widowhood. For upwards of forty years her life had been one of incessant domestic activity; her gentler husband, too much engaged in business during the day, and too fond of cheerful relaxation in the evening, to share much of that burden which the continued watching over so many romping restless children imposed. Her singular firmness both of principle and purpose fitted her to control a household where there were elements at times impatient enough of restraint. "Thomas," she once said, in a slow deliberate tone, as her manner was, even when most excited, "Thomas, remember that I am your mother." It tells both for the power of the one and the impressibility of the other, that when he was at an age much above that of boyhood, this single sentence was sufficient to check the impetuous youth. Both parents shared equally the spirit of an inflexible moral integrity; both were scrupulously methodical in their general habits, and strictly punctual in the keeping of all engagements.* But yet the diversity was great: it showed itself even in look and manner—Mr. Chalmers tall and commanding in presence, but bland and affable and easy of access, with a smile for every one, and a jest for those who liked it; Mrs. Chalmers stout and short, as kind in heart, but more measured in courtesy—of a peculiarly firm and steady gait, and almost undeviatingly rectilineal in all her motions. Mr. Chalmers was social in his feelings and habits, a lover of gentle glee, a humorist himself, and a hearty relisher of all mirthful tales. This love of humour was shared by many of his children, but it was altogether wanting in their mother. The family at Anstruther was often in a roar of merriment, but Mrs. Chalmers remained unmoved. If, however, she had less wit than her husband, she had more practical wisdom—if less fitted to win love and reverence, she was more fitted to command obedience and respect—if her temper was less mild and amiable, her sense of the true and the right was so strong, and carried into action with such unwavering resolution, that she often stood firm where he would certainly have given way. One of the most submissive and affectionate and dutiful of wives, she was one of the most energetic of mothers, confirming her right to enforce their duties upon her children by the faithfulness with which her own were discharged. She had not lived many years with a husband of such simple and devoted piety till she was led to the same fountain of peace and holiness out of which he drew so largely, and having become one with him in the good hope of the gospel of Jesus Christ, she became one with him in heart and purpose as to all earthly things. To her his death was a most desolating stroke, nor can one well conceive a greater contrast

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* The punctuality which reigned over all the domestic regulations was sometimes not a little inconvenient to Mr. Chalmers's guests. His aunt, while living in the house, appearing one morning too late at breakfast, and well knowing what awaited her if she exposed herself defenceless to the storm, thus managed to divert it. "Oh! Mr. Chalmers," she exclaimed, as she entered the room, "I had such a strange dream last night; I dreamt that you were dead." "Indeed," said Mr. Chalmers, quite arrested by an announcement which bore so directly upon his own future history. "And I dreamt," she continued, "that the funeral day was named, and the funeral hour was fixed, and the funeral cards were written; and the day came, and the folk came, and the hour came, but what do you think happened?—why, the clock had scarce done chapping (striking) twelve, which had been the hour named in the cards, when a loud knocking was heard within the

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coffin, and a voice, gey peremptory and ill-pleased like, came out of it, saying, 'Twelve's chappit, and ye're no liftin'.'" Mr. Chalmers was himself too great a humorist not to relish a joke so quickly and cleverly contrived, and in the hearty laugh which followed, the ingenious culprit felt that she had accomplished more than an escape.

than that between those years of her married life, when so many children were growing up about her, and the ten years of her widowhood, when she was left almost alone; yet she never wearied, nor did a single hour hang heavy on her hands. She read, she wrote, she worked, she went on errands of kindness among the poor, and not even in the days when her strength was greatest and her hands were full of many cares, did her steady indomitable spirit of perseverance more remarkably exhibit itself. Her family was much scattered, but she sustained a correspondence with them to an extent quite unusual with those of her rank and years. Births and marriages were happening almost yearly in the family, and scarcely an event of this kind occurred at which some piece of handiwork from Anstruther did not tell of her kind remembrance. She had so laid out her time for weeks beforehand, that the day never came without bringing its set work along with it. She had a number of pensioners whom she assisted in different ways, and among whom her visits and services were distributed with the most precise regularity. There were few left in Anstruther of the associates of her early days, and her extreme dislike to all petty gossip, conspired with the weeding hand of time, to narrow her circle. It was her rule, as she herself announced it, (and she never had a rule which she did not execute,) that whenever told of anything that a neighbour had said or done amiss, she instantly put on her bonnet, and went at once to the person, and told what had been said, and told who said it, and asked if it was true. It is not likely that to the ears of one known to practise such a habit many tales of scandal would be conveyed. Of her higher life—her hidden walk with God—there are some memorials which we shall hereafter present; meanwhile, the following extracts from letters written to her by Dr. Chalmers will convey an idea of the affectionate interest which he continued to take in her welfare:—

"DUMBARNIE, *August 13th*, 1818.

"MY DEAR MOTHER,—I hope you will at all times apply by letter in every case of duty or of difficulty where my presence is required. This is my own wish and feeling; and I am sure it is Sandy's also. We hope that you will enjoy great comfort and peace, and should like to do all in our power to make up for the heavy loss that we all have sustained. It were well if we could turn with all our hearts to God when earthly props and earthly comforts are so fast departing away from us—that we were living as strangers in this land of sin and suffering—that we were labouring after that holiness without which there is no meetness for heaven, and that in the prayers and preparations of a life of faith we found our time to pass away and to leave the lasting fruits of improvement in grace and righteousness behind it.

"It is my earnest prayer that Christ may be all your desire and all your salvation. He casts out none who come unto Him. God casts out none that come unto Him through Christ. There is abundance of good-will in heaven if there was only faith upon earth: but the straitening lies here. The assurances of God's kindness in Christ Jesus are heard by us with the hearing of the ear, but the inner man does not take hold of them. When I wish for you that God would work faith with power, I wish that which would sanctify us wholly here and secure us an inheritance of blessedness hereafter.—Believe me, my dear Mother, yours very truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Grangemouth, September 25th*, 1818.—MY DEAR MOTHER,—I am thus far on my way back to Glasgow. I left Mrs. Chalmers yesterday at Kilmany. I can truly say, that however kindly I was treated by my old acquaintances I did regret the necessity which kept me from Anster. I never felt a stronger inclination to visit it than I did during this excursion; but circumstances made it quite impossible. I can only say for myself, that I shall ever, I trust, feel it to be my inclination, as I know it to be my duty, to come as frequently as I can well get away; and I beg you will be quite free in letting me know whenever there is any special necessity for my presence. I do indeed feel a more tender relationship to Anster than ever; and though my father's death has broken one tie with the place, yet your solitude has bound the other tie more closely than before.

" It is my earnest prayer that our late melancholy visitation may be blessed and sanctified to us all. It is indeed woful to think of the carnality of our hearts—of our strong natural aversion to God and to godliness—of the total want of affection for the things which are above—of our listlessness and carelessness under the most affecting bereavements and the sorest dispensations of a kind Providence. All this is indeed very sinful, and it is well to know that it is a sinfulness which must not merely be forgiven, but which must also be overcome ere we can reach heaven. Without holiness no man can see God. This is just as much God's truth as that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin. A very alarming consideration truly to those who are not seeking after holiness, or who know not where alone it is to be found, even in the fulness of Jesus, through whom it is that we are washed and sanctified as well as justified.

" Give my kind compliments to Isabel and my Aunt. It is my prayer for you all that you may be saved. This was Paul's prayer for Israel, who were his kinsmen according to the flesh ; and it were well for us that our natural affection were more strongly and more habitually turned towards the great object of the everlasting salvation of our relatives.

" Let me know if you can read my present letter ; for if you can it will give me satisfaction to know that I can make myself legible. I have made a particular effort, and I hope I have succeeded in it. I think pretty well of it myself, but I am not the best judge of that matter.*—I am, my dear Mother, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Glasgow, January* 14*th*, 1819.—I read your letter with great satisfaction and gratitude. It delights me to perceive that you have so much comfort after the desolating stroke that has been inflicted on you, and that God has been pleased to mingle so much enjoyment with a lot darkened by one of the heaviest of all temporal calamities. * * *

"I am rather disposed to think that the trouble you are put to on account of the Radernie money being heritable is all as it should be; but I hope that you will get it all accommodated and to your mind by and bye.

"Let us cherish the spirit of strangers and pilgrims on the earth. Our business here is to perfect holiness in the fear of God. It is not enough that we make use of Christ as our propitiation: we should use Him as our strength and follow Him as our example. It is a striking passage where He says, that unless we forgive we shall not be forgiven. All those who have redemption through His blood are endowed with the same grace towards their fellow-men that they have received from His hands. What need is there for prayer and watchfulness to be a Christian indeed. Let us lay hold of the covenant of peace with God, and He by putting His love into our hearts, and writing it in our minds, will sanctify us wholly.—Believe me, my dear Mother, yours most truly,—THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*April* 24*th*, 1819.—MY DEAR MOTHER,—I am just now in the Canal-boat on my passage to Glasgow. I left home on Monday, and have spent the week with Lord and Lady Elgin at Broomhall, and am now on my return to it. * * * I gladly avail myself of such an opportunity as I can obtain for writing to you as the present. The truth is, that in Glasgow I have a great deal of work both without and within doors, and often feel no inclination to write after the fatigues of a laborious day. I also find that a press and redundancy of business are greatly against the progress of one's personal Christianity, and may well understand how it is that in the parable of the sower the cares of life are enumerated among the thorns which choke the good seed of the word of God. I think that an excursion to the country ought to be good for one's spiritual interest as well as for the mere object of repose. It is observable that both Christ and His apostles are most strenuous in warning their disciples against carefulness. There is no commandment in the keeping of which there is a more immediate reward than that by which we are charged against indulging oppressive or disquieting thoughts about the things of a present evil world. Our Saviour, indeed, gives us no warrant for extending our anxieties on this point beyond the present day; He counts these anxieties to be enough for us: 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' When to-morrow comes, it will bring its cares and its necessities along with it. And what a mighty relief would it yield to one's spirit, could we cast all our care about futurity on Him who careth for us—could we 'be careful for nothing, but in everything, by prayer and supplication, make our requests known unto God,' and thus be enabled to give our entire mind to the one thing needful, an undistracted strength to the seeking of the kingdom of God and its righteousness.

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* "I had a letter last night from Thomas. They are all well. It is a vast labour the reading his letters—I sometimes take a week to make them out."—Letter from Mrs. Chalmers, dated 14th November 1821.

"But though every day brings its cares, and we are called upon not to care for to-morrow, yet every day brings also its duties; and there can be no doubt that what the hand findeth then to do, we should do then with all our might; and, indeed, it is by the strenuous performance of this day's duties that futurity is often provided for.

"I did not anticipate this vein of reflection when I sat down: I have been led to it by my own experience and my own case. And there is often such a resemblance in human hearts and human circumstances that it may not be altogether unacceptable to you.—I am, my dear Mother, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS"

"*Glasgow, December 29th,* 1819.—MY DEAR MOTHER,—We received your letter, along with a parcel from Miss Leslie. I have indeed been very throng, but I am getting into a state of greater quietness and regularity. We are all in good health here; and though times are very hard for our labouring classes, yet we confidently look forward to days of greater peace and more abundant employment for them than we have had for a good many months back. * * * It is of truly deep and awful concern that we choose the better part. But, on the other hand, it is most encouraging to know that life is the season of free offers and free invitations from heaven. There is a righteousness already provided, which is unto all and upon all who believe. There is an obedience already rendered, the whole merit of which is imputed to the faithful; and none are prohibited, but all are entreated to put in for their share of the fulness that is in Christ Jesus our Lord. We never will come to rest till we come to this. There is a natural legality about us in virtue of which we seek to establish a righteousness of our own. This is an attempt which the longer we prosecute the wider will be our distance from true peace of heart; and not till we come to a simple reliance on the blood and mediation of the Saviour, will we know what it is either to have trust in God, or know what it is to walk before Him without fear, in righteousness and in true holiness.

"The apostle says, 'We love Him because He first loved us.' Let us only be once convinced that He bears a good will to us, and we will not be long, through the love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, of bearing a gratitude towards Him back again. It is the want of faith which gives rise to want of love; and therefore it is that our prayer should be for larger and larger measures of that faith whereby we are saved, and that faith whereby we are sanctified.

"It is my earnest desire to see you soon; but I cannot well leave Glasgow.—Believe me, my dear Mother, yours very truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Edinburgh, February 4th*, 1820.—MY DEAR MOTHER,—I sincerely hope and pray that this illness of Sandy's may be blest to his spiritual and everlasting good. It is truly lamentable to think of the delicacy and difficulty which obtain among human beings, and in particular if they are nearly related to each other, and which restrains them from speaking freely and closely and earnestly about one another's souls. I wish I could be more at ease and more urgent upon this subject than I find myself to be, so as to discharge the apostolic injunction of being instant in season and out of season. May God grant us all a more affecting and practical sense of eternity, and lead us to cleave more habitually to Him whose blood hath atoned for the guilt of all who believe in Him. * * * It gives me the sincerest pleasure to observe that Mr. Murray has been so attentive to you, and has offered an opinion upon your business which both you and James are inclined to follow. I trust that your anxieties on this matter are now drawing to a close, and there is nothing of which I feel more truly and earnestly desirous than that the evening of your days should be spent in piety and in peace.

"There is certainly much to comfort us amid the trials of a wise Providence in this world, and did we look with a believer's eye beyond the world, we would there behold a region where all was light, and tranquillity, and joy—a God in heaven proffering His love to us—a High Priest at His right hand through whom the chief of sinners may draw nigh—a Holy Spirit through whom it is that we are made to feel the word of promise in its power and in its preciousness, and who if He dwell in our hearts will be to us the token and the earnest of our heavenly inheritance. The crosses of human life serve to try whether we have faith to keep these things fast, whether we count it all joy when we fall into tribulation, whether we are more glad because of the hopes of a coming heaven, or more sorrowful because of the hardships of a present world. They furnish a test, in fact, how it is that our affections lie, nor do we know how a Christian can give a more satisfactory evidence of the reality of his faith than in looking onward to the things which are unseen and eternal, to feel the present affliction to be light, and even bear it with patience and with thankfulness.

" I preached yesternight to all the Sabbath-scholars in my parish, amounting to 1200. There was a very full attendance, and the children filled the whole body of the church.—Believe me to be, my dear Mother, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Dr. Chalmers's correspondence with his eldest brother, while modified by James's peculiarities, partook of that racy vigour with which both writers could wield the pen. Adopted by his grandfather while yet an infant, James had been early separated from his own family, and almost as soon as his education was finished he forsook his native land. Chagrined by losses and disappointments he resolved never to enter business again on his own account, and left Liverpool to settle in London as clerk in an extensive mercantile firm. His situation was lucrative enough to enable him to leave a handsome independence to his family; but imagining that it was not all they might have desired, he became unwilling to see much of his Scottish relatives and friends. This unwillingness soon found ways and means of justifying itself, and fostered by a sensitive temperament grew into a passion. In a family remarkable for hospitality he stood alone, both in his ideas and in his practice, as to social intercourse; but so much spare energy did he possess, that unsatisfied with a sturdy defence of his own position, he delighted in assaulting that of others. Behind all his assumed unsocialism there lay a true warm heart; nor could anything be kindlier than the welcome which, whenever they did come to him, any of his Scotch relatives received. Let us hope, too, that behind all the apparent dislike to religionism there may have been hidden, or may finally have been formed, the simple spirit of a comforting and sanctifying Christianity. Soon after Dr. Chalmers's settlement in Glasgow James lost his only son, and the following correspondence opens with the letter written to him at that time:—

"GLASGOW, *October 25th*, 1815.

"MY DEAR JAMES,—It is with much concern that we hear of the afflicting dispensation which has come over your family, and that by the death of your only son your domestic circle has suffered so sore and so melancholy a bereavement. It is little that friends can offer upon such a melancholy occasion but the expression of their sympathy and their prayers; but it were well that as so little help can be looked for from man, we were to lay the whole burden of our sorrow upon Him who does not afflict willingly any of the children of men.

"A beautiful sentiment I have met with in some author is, that when friends die away from us we should draw nearer together, and yield a more affectionate support and assistance to each other during what remains to us of our earthly pilgrimage. But a still higher and more enduring effect of such a chastisement is, when it carries our wandering hearts to Him who alone has the words of everlasting life—when it rebukes our neglect of that message which contains in it the will of God for our salvation—when it gives us a more earnest direction of heart than we have ever before experienced to Him who came to destroy death—to redeem us from the curse of the law which gives death its sting—to secure pardon and everlasting life to those who believe and obey Him—and of whom it is said, that he who hath the Son hath life, and he who hath not the Son hath not life.

"Give my warmest and kindest condolence to poor Mrs. Chalmers. May God strengthen her under the heaviness of her present affliction ; and Mary, who I am sure has had her heart sadly moved and agitated by this melancholy event. It is my earnest prayer that it may yield the peaceable fruit of righteousness to one and all of you. Mrs. Chalmers joins in kind remembrance of you.—Yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Glasgow, April* 18*th*, 1818.—MY DEAR JAMES,—I should have written you sooner, but I have been very much occupied. There are many doings in this place that a minister has to occupy himself with, and which give him an infinitely less command of time than I had in my country parish. However, I suffer much less from the encroachments of society than you seemed at one time to apprehend; and a letter of yours upon this very subject contributed not a little to my adoption of a defensive system, which has done much to secure my time and my independence.

"I am sorry to understand, by a letter from Jane, that you do not feel yourself altogether comfortable in your present situation. I trust you may get another that may accommodate you better; and in the meantime it is my earnest wish that you feel as comfortably and bear as calmly and determinedly as circumstances will admit. I remember the day well when any external and uncontrollable necessity would have led me to abandon myself to impatience and vexation. In this respect, though I am often visited with the remainder of the old spirit, I think that I can say my temper has undergone some improvement. The cause may not be so easy to assign; but of one thing at least I am sure, that while it is the duty of every man on higher grounds to search the Scriptures, even because in them there is everlasting life—yet he will also find there lessons of a peaceful and philosophic tendency, by obedience to which all that is calculated to annoy and discompose other men, is made to feel light unto him.

"I would have you to be without carefulness. 'Be careful for nothing, but in everything, by prayer and supplication, make your requests known unto God;'—'Godliness is profitable unto all things, and has the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come;'—'Cast all your care upon Him, for He careth for you;'—'God is my helper, and I will not fear what man can do unto me;'—these are a few out of many dissuasives against such thoughts and feelings as tend to corrode the very root of enjoyment in this world, gathered out of a book which, if we neglect, we do it at the peril of all our expectations in another world, and will indeed most assuredly incur the doom of 'How shall ye escape if ye neglect so great a salvation.' * * * All here are well. Helen is still with us. A letter from Jane refreshes and delights us occasionally. I do hope to hear from you soon. Give my kindest compliments to Mrs. Chalmers and Mary; and believe me ever, my dear James, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"LONDON, *May 4th*, 1818.

"DEAR THOMAS,—I observe Jane has been writing to you about my situation not being a very pleasant one. It is indeed far from being comfortable;—indeed, I have been on the outlook for some time, but can hear of nothing as yet that is likely to suit. You do not say whether you are likely to publish any thing soon. I lately got your sermon before the Hibernian Society; and I believe our countrymen here feel rather sore that you should have favoured the Irish so much and denied the like favour to the Scotch, who fully expected that you should also have published your sermon for their benefit. They think you have made fish of the one and flesh of the other. * * * I believe I mentioned to you some time since that some of the printsellers had executed a figure intended to represent you, which they had in fact bound up with some of your works, which is a most disgraceful thing; and I would really beg of you to get a correct and rather flattering miniature taken of yourself, so as to give the lie to these catch-penny things who have so completely bungled you in this kind of way; for by binding up and selling with your works this ugly thing, you are handed down to posterity as one of the most frightful looking figures that ever existed."

"*November 20th*, 1818.

"MY DEAR JAMES,—My mother you know to have very great resources in herself; she is fond of what, in Scottish phrase, is called *trocking*, and the garden with the outhouses, and the work of various little charities which she practises in Anster, will afford complete scope for the indulgence of this favourite propensity. I have received some letters from her lately, and am much pleased with the Christian spirit manifested in them. I trust that her affliction will be improved to her by the power of Him who alone can sanctify and bless all His visitations.

"It grieves me to perceive that you are not comfortably situated. I like not to obtrude upon you what you may feel to be my offensive peculiarities, and yet I would be keeping back what I hold to be a most important testimony, did I not advert to the power of Christianity in smoothing and softening all the annoyances of life. I doubt not that your feelings are perfectly natural in respect of discomfort and provocation; but sure I am that nothing will give solid peace, even in this world, but the gospel of Jesus Christ; that without this there is no situation but will minister vexation and bitterness to the occupier, and with it there is no situation that can altogether rid a man of his tranquillity."

" London, *January 4th*, 1819.

" Dear Thomas,—I am at all times obliged to you for your good advice, and shall very thankfully receive it upon religious subjects as well as on any other. I mention this because you like not, you say, to obtrude upon me what I may feel to be your offensive peculiarities. Now, they are the very reverse of being offensive, and you are much mistaken if you think that I am at all indifferent to this subject. I may not perhaps go to what you may consider a sufficient length in outward appearances, being rather a closet religionist than otherwise, and a former careless habit may still lead me at times to express my indignation by a hearty ——, but I am by no means insensible of the power of Christianity in smoothing and softening the annoyances of life. My great want is the opportunity of exercising it in peace and with an undisturbed mind. * * *

" You seem to have misunderstood my hit as you term it at the sainthood. I do assure you I mean no disrespect whatever to that most useful and respectable set of men; on the contrary, I am fully sensible of their value and importance to society, though at the same time I do confess there may be some of their opinions and ways that I do not approve. You seem also to have a notion that I do not hold with the sentiments and precepts of the Bible; but in this you are also much mistaken. It is my wish to make the Bible the rule of my faith and conduct. I know no other religion than that of believing in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and endeavouring to frame my life according to their precepts. I do not hold with what is called religious intercourse: it is a matter entirely between God and my own heart. I hold no communication whatever with man upon the subject, except that of hearing the word preached; for I have often found that religion has been made a cloak for the worst of crimes, and I firmly believe that there is more wickedness practised under its mask than in any other way; and I do confess, that when I observe a man take any out of the way pains to convince the world that he is a religionist, I view him with a most suspicious eye. Their notions of sin I cannot say I altogether hold with. It appears to be a great sin for a man to pull a weed or two out of his garden on a Sunday, but it is not a sin to break in upon a family on the Sabbath evening, and then sit two or three hours scandalizing the whole neighbourhood. It is a heinous and crying sin for a man to express his indignation at wickedness or injustice by an oath. I do not mean to justify the crime of profane swearing, but I mean to say that swearing is an open, and, if I may use the expression, an honest sin. It tells at once for itself. It exposes fully to the world its own deformity by its own act. But a man may be guilty and in the daily practice of all the other sins to the very latest hour of his existence, and not be found out, and he retains to his last breath the character of an upright religious and honest man. Now, we often find it to be men of this very description who are the strictest religionists, whose very light is darkness, who are the tithe-payers of mint, &c., and neglect the weightier matters, and who go about hawking it from house to house, leading astray silly women, &c. You never will hear me speak disrespectfully of religion, but you may of those who profess and practise it, though I am far from entertaining opinions of this kind of the generality of professors. I am a member of no sect: I am only an occasional hearer. I commune with none but God and my own heart. JAMES CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *February 18th*, 1819.

"MY DEAR JAMES,—I received yours of the 4th of January, and should not like to defer answering you for a long time. I have been much occupied of late by the publication of a volume of 'Congregational Sermons,' which have been five months in the press, and which I expect to be out next week. I expect to be able then to send you two copies, one for yourself, and another which I beg you may forward to Mr. Morton in Gloucestershire.

"In reply to an observation of your letter, you will forgive me for saying, that whenever Christianity is real it confers a peace which carries it over all the disadvantages of external situation, and that where the peace does not exist, there is reason to fear that it is due not to what is adverse outwardly, but to what is adverse inwardly. It is not to judge but to warn you that I take the liberty of remarking, that that man's pretensions to heaven would be utterly discredited could it be said that under a strong inducement he uttered an occasional lie; and I fear that as little can be said for that man's religion who, under some strong provocation, utters an occasional oath. It is a bad external symptom of the state of the heart, and of the way in which it really stands affected to this matter of supreme and vital importance. And perhaps a cool and direct examination of the heart itself might throw light upon this subject, might lead one to ascertain whether there be any honest or practical earnestness about it, whether God be the Being with whom we have really at any time to do, whether His message be habitually listened to, or habitually neglected, whether the great peculiarities of that doctrine on the reception of which He makes all human salvation to turn, be our familiar food, or be strange to our minds as a piece of dark and unknown mysticism. All this may perhaps be got at by an act of deliberate self-inquiry; it is a question of most fearful importance, and it were well for us not to shrink from it now, while return is possible, and pardon is within the reach of our offer, and God stands in readiness to receive even those who, by the alienation of a whole life, have done all that in them lay to provoke and to estrange Him.

"Do take all this in good part; you know that I have no ill will. Give my kindest compliments to Mrs. and Miss Chalmers, and believe me, dear James, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"LONDON, *April* 21*st*, 1819.

"DEAR THOMAS,—I received yours of the 18th February, and am afraid from a letter since received from Anstruther that my mother appears likely to experience considerable difficulty in getting her money from the Radernie bond. I have been most cruelly hampered and annoyed by Scotch borements, and it really begins to assume the appearance of a sort of systematic persecution. * * * It is the tremendous train that is always at their rear, and the set they are sure either to bring with them or send after them that frightens me at Scotch visits. What for instance could be more pleasant to us than to have either Charles or Alexander up for a week or so during the summer to look about them, were it not for that vile system of introductions, that incurable Scotch disease of making you acquainted with all their acquaintances. It is really carried to such an unreasonable pitch that I am afraid to approach even so near as to write a letter; and I dare say Sandy has thought it strange that I never answered the letter he wrote me when Jane was married. It would give me great pleasure to see some little reform in the manners, customs, and propensities of my countrymen. You take a deal of pains with the savages abroad, but you never think of those at home: the one I do assure you want civilizing as much as the other. JAMES CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *May* 14*th*, 1819.

"DEAR JAMES,—I shall have it in my power, I trust, to spend some time in Anstruther in the months of June and July, when I shall pay every attention to my mother's affairs, and do all I can to place matters on a secure and comfortable footing for her.

"In your complaints about Scottish obtrusiveness, you go completely beyond the sympathy and understanding of all your friends in this quarter. I am convinced, that if you subjected the matter to a calculation of the real time that it has taken away from you, you would be astonished to find how perfect a bagatelle you had made a bugbear of and allowed to disturb you. At all events, it is easy, I apprehend, to protect yourself from people whose society you do not like, without such a tremendous expense of discomfort and uneasiness to yourself. The brooding over it, I am thoroughly convinced, creates ten times more of real suffering than the whole matter of the annoyance itself would, and that without practically helping on your deliverance. It really appears to me that you have a morbid excess of feeling about the whole of this matter—insomuch, that the very appearance of a Scotchman in your street is enough to light up a war of apprehension within you. I am sure there is nothing I would like better to see in you than a more tranquil temperament of mind, founded on such conceptions of the truth as would lead you to have peace and joy in believing, and would enable you to feel lightly all the cares and vexations of a deceitful pilgrimage.—With best compliments to Mrs. Chalmers, I am, dear James, yours very truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"LONDON, *June* 1*st*, 1819.

"DEAR THOMAS,—My mother seems to think that as next heir-male I can lay some claim to the estate of Radernie, but they may make a kirk and a mill of it before I give myself any trouble about it. My riches do not consist in the possession of money, but in the possession of the domestic quietness and peace which I am permitted to enjoy. I have no wish to extend my means so as to meet the demands of connexions. My great object is to curtail my connexions so as to make my means answer, and consequently an introduction to a new acquaintance has not the effect of getting me a new acquaintance, but a contrary effect, that of losing an old one; for let the introductionist be who he will, I cut him.

"My situation continues daily to become worse and worse. I suppose I am now in a state of punishment for the concern I was led into in Liverpool in the slave-trade, and that I must look forward to nothing but a continued state of bondage while I live :—

'Slave merchant once,
But now himself a slave.'"

"GLASGOW, *April* 13*th*, 1820.

"DEAR JAMES,—I am sensible that it is long since I wrote, but I am sadly overdone with employment, and must be held a privileged man in respect of correspondence. I have sometimes to throw off twenty communications in the day about my home business, and then the letters from a distance get leave to accumulate for a time, when the load becomes at length oppressive to my feelings.

"You will have read much of Glasgow of late in the newspapers. There was great alarm, and a very general feeling of insecurity for some time, and nothing but the presence of an overawing military force has kept the peace of our city. What explosion may occur on their departure remains to be seen, but there is quietness, and a very general return to their work, in the meantime.

"Sandy was most alarmingly unwell. His physician said, about six weeks ago, that if there was no change, he would not live above a few hours; in the meantime, he is recovering and gaining strength, though slowly, and there is ground to apprehend that he may be very much of an invalid during the remainder of his days.

"My wife and I were at Kirkaldy for about a fortnight when Sandy was at his worst. Let us hope that his distress may detach him from the love of a world that is in every way unworthy of the affections of an immortal creature; and we may be very sure that all is not right about us, and that we are not in a state which it will do to die with, till the love of Him who made the world is shed abroad in our hearts, and we are reclaimed from the ungodliness of nature.

"Give my best compliments to Mrs Chalmers and Mary, and believe me to be, dear James, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *January* 1*st*, 1821.

"DEAR JAMES,—I dare say I may have good-humouredly said, in John Hall's presence, something about not writing you till New-Year, but it is not on that account that I have selected this day for this letter; the truth is, that my mantelpiece is labouring under the weight of unanswered correspondence, and I have turned this into a holiday from my ordinary work for the purpose of clearing it away.

"May the roll of seasons at length awaken us to true wisdom. There is a way of escape from the corrosions of this cheating and distressful world. I am sure, that would we implicitly walk by the Bible, we should at length find ourselves in a way of pleasantness and a path of peace. The injustice of man would not disturb us; the hopes and disappointments of the world would not overwhelm us. We should feel calmness in the midst of perplexity and persecution. And how tempting are the offers of the gospel when even now it invites us to put on a righteousness which will secure our acceptance with God, and promises such a new spirit and a new heart, as would render us alive to the power of godliness.

"Give my very kindest regards to Mrs. Chalmers and Mary, in which my Mrs. Chalmers most cordially joins. May you have many returns of the season, and may a life of repentance and faith be followed by an endless felicity hereafter.—Believe me to be, my dear James, yours very affectionately.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

It is pleasing to know, that with the lapse of years his situation not only became quite agreeable to James, but that his feelings towards his countrymen were in some degree mollified. In March 1836, he writes thus to his sister Helen :—"Your letter of the 20th, and your addition to Patrick's about two years since, contain the only Anster news I have had for the last nine years, and very acceptable and amusing they were to me. I am always fond of hearing Anster news, either about the people or the improvements of the place; and I assure you, I set great store by your last letter, for it had not a single particle of the poison in it, though this one was a little tinctured therewith, but, nevertheless, in moderation, and I am in great hopes that a Scotch reform is now working in the articles of invitation and impressment, and that the tenets of a certain school will ere long be exploded. Though it is evident that the slime of the '*auld serpent's*' crawl has not as yet evaporated, yet it is pleasing to think that great progress has of late been made towards it, and I hope I may live to see the day when the good folks of Scotland will contract the reality and sincerity of good manners, and, as a matter of course, abandon those of the other description, which never yet had any other effect than that of making the tongue falsify the heart. An invitation, according to my notion of the thing, ought only to occur once in a man's whole life, and it should run thus—'Whenever you come my way, I shall always be glad to see you.' What a comfort it would be if they would only confine themselves to that, and if my good sister Jane, for instance, when she first came to live in England, had just told me that, leaving the rest to me, and suffering me to be the judge of my own convenience and time, I really think I should have visited her long before this and often; but the incessant whipping and spurring and driving, and you must, and you shall, and I'll take it very ill of you if you don't, and I insist upon it, and I'll take no denial, and I can see nothing to hinder you—why, it is enough to frighten a poor creature like me almost out of his wits. Invitation, invitation, rattling and reeling and ringing in one's ears everlastingly, as if a man could have no enjoyment beyond that of guzzling and drinking, and the worst of all is, that they won't believe what you say; for surely, if I tell a man that I like a bowl of kirn milk better than a bowl of punch, he ought to believe me,—but no; he likes the punch best himself, and I must like it too, and *ne'er a drap* of kirn milk will he give me. It is, indeed, a great failing in the Scotch, that they cannot, or will not, admit it possible that a person can have likes or dislikes or feelings different from their own, and they even go so far as to think they have a right to sport with the feelings of another merely because they have not the same themselves, which shows either a great cruelty or a great want of knowledge of the world; but things, I now hope, are in a fair train of amendment, and that nothing now exists to impede the glorious work of reformation in the manners of the people, or to obstruct the impressment and asking-twice system from being rooted out and annihilated; and then, I hope, a good downright and straightforward 'no' to an invitation will cease to be considered an insult or breach of manners, and that I can enjoy the luxury of a visit to Scotland in safety and comfort, and be suffered to look about me in my own way, when and where I please, without being laid hold of and dragged away against my will to the beastly guzzlement. Now, in all this I do not mean to say anything against, or in the smallest degree to find fault with real hospitality—far from it; hospitality is highly commendable and praiseworthy when properly exercised; all I mean to say is, that the Scotch overdo it, and carry it beyond its proper bounds, by their system of impressment; for surely they ought to allow the object of it to have a say in the matter, without cramming it down his throat whether he will or not. Now, you see what a grand sermon I have written to you, and I hope you will seriously consider it, and come in to it, and profit by it, for sure I am that the great Dr. Chalmers never wrote such a sermon in his days; but, after all, I begin to think I am getting too old now to go to any distance from home, and it is many years since I had a journey of any kind, for as people get into years, their tastes and enjoyments undergo great changes.

"I was just thinking the other day of some few curious particulars relating to myself which may not be unamusing to you were I to state them. It is very near forty-seven years since I first left Scotland, and nearly thirty-five since I was in it at all. I have not been in a Mason's Lodge since the present century commenced; it is upwards of thirty-two years since I was on horseback; it is thirty-two years since I heard a minister of the Established Church of Scotland preach; it is twenty-three years since I saw the sea; it is sixteen years since I was at a greater distance from London than eight miles; and I have not now a single relation living upon the face of the earth whose house I ever was in in my life. Now, I am sure, you cannot complain, for I have written you a long letter of highly important intelligence."*

We have to invite the reader to enter a different region as he takes up the religious portion of that correspondence which, during his residence in Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers maintained with Mrs. Morton. In the course of this period, Mrs. Morton was severely tried by the death of one of her sons, who, though very young, with evidence of superior talent, gave evidence also of a genuine faith in Christ :—

"GLASGOW, *June 24th*, 1816.

"I wish I had more to communicate to you of what is called experimental religion. It is easy to expatiate with sense and consistency, and scriptural soundness on the truths of Christianity; but these truths are proposed to my mind, and if I embrace them I have faith, and faith, wherever it exists, has its accompanying influences, and I should like that I could feel those influences more; and it is the consciousness of these influences in the shape of love, and peace, and joy, and actual strength for obedience, which supplies every Christian with all that he knows and all that he can tell of his religious experience. The primitive Christians had this in great perfection. Peace ruled in their hearts, and they rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory; and they had the feeling of a faith which grew exceedingly, and of love to the saints and to all men which made distinct and sensible progress within them. Let us keep by the Saviour, that He may by His Spirit work the same things in us, and beautify us by His salvation, and give us to second and to feel His work of grace within us, that we may have the witness and be able to tell of the great things which He has done for our souls.

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* Inheriting the parental punctuality and the parental Toryism, James carried both of them to an extreme degree. In balancing his private receipts and disbursements at the close of a year, one penny more than he could account for appeared to have been spent: that penny cost him weeks and months of uneasiness, till, crossing one of the London bridges, which he had occasion to cross once a-year, and on which there was a penny toll, he suddenly remembered that twelve months before he had paid a penny there which he had not entered in his books. Under the excitement of the moment he adjourned to a neighbouring coffee-house, and dedicated a foaming draught of porter to the great discovery.—After the passing of the Reform Bill, to which he was greatly opposed, he addressed the following note to the collector of the assessed taxes:—"I hereby give you notice that I refuse to pay all further rates and taxes until after the 21st of July next, my sole object in so doing being to render myself ineligible to be registered as a voter, for I happen to be one of those who do not consider the privilege (if it may be so called) to be worth the shilling you charge for it, neither do I feel myself competent to judge of the fitness of a person to serve in Parliament, and therefore leave my share of it to *the more enlightened*. All other payments except those due in April you can have punctually to a day."

"On the religious education of children I shall only say at present in the general, that you cannot begin too early, that God should be spoken of to the very youngest, and the name of Jesus Christ familiarized to them, and every association of reverence and love that the tone and style of the parents can attach to the business of religion should be established in them. Their consciences are wonderfully soon at work. They know what a fault is in reference to their parents, and they can soon feel and understand the same thing in reference to God; and there is much about God being the giver and the maker and the upholder of all things, about which their minds can take in the information, and their hearts can be made to feel a solemn and a touching impression."

"*Glasgow, February 23d*, 1818.—MY DEAREST JANE,—I know that Helen wrote you very recently, but I find that I have not answered my last received letter from Pudhill, and I am too fond of the correspondence from that quarter not to recur to it whenever time and other engagements permit me to do so. Be assured then I speak out of the abundance of my heart when I say, that I hold it one of the purest and most delightful of all my feelings in this world of many distractions, that feeling of tenderness which I ever associate with you and all your concerns; and perhaps there is a slight mixture of poetical delusion in the thought, but it is certainly a pleasant one, that the neighbourhood on which Providence hath ordained your habitation, rich as it is in the beauties of nature, and richer still in the pieties and charities of the excellent people who live in it, would be my best occasional retreat from the fatigues and anxieties of my ordinary existence.

"I had written thus far down a week ago, and have since had a letter from Patrick, announcing his settlement with Mr. Gordon, a circumstance which gives me very great pleasure. We had also a letter from Mary Chalmers, who I trust is in earnest about her soul. She mentions that her father is not getting so fond of his present situation, and that this affects his health and spirits. I fear we are too delicate and forbearing in our remarks upon the great topic of immortality, and of that gospel which points the way to it. I meditate a letter to him soon, and I have to request that you will not overlook this subject in your future communications with him. Helen is anxious about Robert, since Patrick writes that he is poorly. Let us know particularly of him. May God prosper you in your children, and enable you both to suffer and to do the whole of His will respecting them.

"We are greatly taken up with plans and speculations respecting the poor, and churches, and matters of active and Christian economy in our town. I am getting an occasional hit, too, I perceive from controversialists, but I do not dip at all into their performances till I am enabled to resume a formal and deliberate attention to the subject, so as not to put my mind under the control of such a random and fluctuating element as that of criticism. Thus in the meanwhile I am as much at my ease as the man who is profoundly asleep in a storm.

" The man who really exercises faith in the truths of the gospel will be saved. And there is a style of universality in these truths which warrant the believer to make a personal application of them to himself. If the blood of Christ cleanseth from *all* sin, why may not the believer say from *my* sin? If *whosoever* cometh unto Christ will not be cast out, why should I look upon *myself* as an outcast? If the word of salvation has reached you, the offer of salvation has been made unto you.

" And yet it is as true if any man forsake not all he cannot be Christ's disciple, and therefore unless I forsake all that Christ wants me to forsake I cannot be His disciple. I may try to realize the comfort of the former assertions in my heart without realizing the direction of the latter upon my conduct. But it will not do. The body is in this case full of darkness, because the eye is not single. And every attempt to divide Christ, or to draw the veil from one part of His testimony while we keep it wrapt on another part of it, will always terminate in fruitless and ineffectual attempts to have Him for our friend and comforter.

" The cry however of ' turn us and we shall be turned,' raised even from the very depths of impenitency and rebellion, will not be turned away from; and if it be the cry of one who is in good earnest seeking after God, it is a cry that will not be lifted in vain. It is altogether as much a gift from Christ when we obtain the grace of repentance, as when we obtain the grace of forgiveness; and I am sure that in proportion as I draw from my own energies, for the purpose of making good my repentance, in that very proportion must I fall short. Oh that we could live a life of faith on the Son of God, and find to our joyful experience that it is a life of holy and affectionate obedience.

"All our family are well. Anne can now read her Bible, and Eliza has all the prattle of an incipient talker."

"*Glasgow, July 3d,* 1818.—MY VERY DEAR JANE,—In the meantime do you maintain your diligence in the use of means, and God will meet you while thus employed with such manifestations of His truth as He knows to be good for you. I have been preaching lately on faith and a *good conscience*, and been endeavouring to explain what it was that an evangelical good conscience consisted of. The conscience of every Christian attests that in himself there dwelleth no good thing. It charges him with the evil that resides naturally and constitutionally in his heart, and therefore speaks to him in the terms of an evil conscience. But he who gives way to his evil tendencies is altogether an opposite person to him who makes head against them—who desires in truth and in good earnest to resist them to the uttermost, and if possible to extinguish them altogether, and who avails himself of every promised aid which the Gospel reveals that the flesh may be crucified and that grace may have the ascendency. A man may be the tenant of a vile body and yet be a man of the latter description and not of the former. His conscience may trouble him by representing to him how obstinately and how deeply seated a corruption there is in the nature which he brought with him into the world, and from which he will not be finally separated till he leaves the world; but his conscience may at the very same time gladden and cheer him by the testimony that he is plying every expedient of sanctification which the Gospel puts into the hand of a believer for keeping the body under subjection; and this is the very good conscience which Paul had when he said, 'This is my rejoicing, the testimony of my conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom but by the grace of God I have my conversation in the world.'

"I feel the same love to Mr. and Mrs. Hoskins and Miss Bliss that you have. I feel the remembrance of the Psalmody in Shortwood Chapel to be sweet; and many are my associations of delight and tenderness with you and your neighbourhood. I still hold by the wish of making out Gloucestershire next summer; but I must be almost entirely with you, and never preach any more than I find to be good for me—for I go to rest and not to work."

"*Glasgow, September 3d*, 1818.—MY DEAREST JANE,—I should have written you long ago, and have condoled with you much sooner in your present condition of sorrow upon sorrow. Let me entreat of you not to be swallowed up of overmuch sorrow; and though it be easier for me to bid your resignation than for you to practise it, yet that does not prevent its being a real and an acquirable state of mind, that one should sorrow not even as others that have no hope—that one should count it joy when they fall into tribulation—that one should walk by faith, not by sight—that one should look beyond the changes and the sufferings of time to the glories and the blessedness of eternity. All this we are bidden do in the Bible—all this we shall be strengthened to do in waiting upon God—all this we shall obtain in answer to the believing prayer that He would strengthen us with all might, according to the working of His glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness.

"I can conceive the bitterness of your bereavement, though I have not yet felt it in my own personal experience. It seems by far the strongest tie of relationship in nature that which binds a parent's affection to his offspring. I have tried to figure the loss of my own children; and should I ever be called upon to bear it, I even now think it the severest infliction next to the loss of my wife, that Providence has in reserve for me.

"I trust that in your case religion will anticipate the work of time—that Christianity will moderate your grief long before the period at which without Christianity the grief would in the course of nature, and by the mere operation of variety, die away. There is one peculiar alleviation in which you ought to take comfort: your son could talk of Christ and take comfort in Him; he could image the Saviour to be his friend; and go not to think that He who said 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' would pass such a feeling unnoticed, or would fail to recognise the faith and the trust and the hope of the young believer as the badges of a relationship, all the privileges of which we have reason to think he is now possessing in glory."

"*Track-boat, October 13th,* 1818.—MY DEAREST JANE,—I was lately in the north of Fife, and made a rapid survey of Kilmany and its inhabitants. I could not help being struck with one circumstance, the general change that had taken place among the people in respect of their bodily appearance, proving how surely and how speedily the body draws towards its decay, and this, combined with the stability of character graven upon their souls, proving how obstinately all the features of worldliness and corruption adhere to us unless a principle more powerful than calculation—more powerful than any that can be excited by the obviousness of advancing frailty and decay be brought to bear upon us. What an argument for immediate repentance, for betaking ourselves to the great movement of conversion immediately—for not merely seeking, but striving, not merely walking, but in the language of Scripture fleeing. The Bible tells us what we are to flee from—the coming wrath; and, oh! delightful intimation, it points out to us where we are to flee to for refuge to the hope set before us. There we have a sure refuge from condemnation—a hiding-place from the storm. There also we have a sure refuge from the tyranny of sin as well as the guilt of it. Sin shall not have dominion over you; for you are not under the law but under grace. I know not how you feel in this respect, but I am sure that every day I live I have more reason for self-renunciation and self-annihilation; and let me not think this a strange thing, for Paul renounced all confidence in the flesh: he was dead unto himself. Every day I live I feel more and more that I must carry Christ and the exercise of prayer in His name along with me into the very slightest of my duties. Neither let me count this strange, for Paul rejoiced in the Lord Jesus, and was thus made to serve God in the Spirit. Though dead yet nevertheless he lived, and Christ lived in him. He made Christ his sanctification as well as his righteousness, and reached a habit of holy obedience by doing what we in order to attain holiness must do after him, live a life of faith on the Son of God.

"Let me recommend two small treatises which I think would delight you. The first is Searle's 'Christian Remembrancer,' a small duodecimo volume; and indeed all Searle's works are excellent. The second is a pamphlet by a daughter of Sir John Sinclair, entitled 'Principles of the Christian Faith.'* It is well calculated to recommend evangelical principles to the people of higher walks in society.

"There is a good old phrase in the older writers, that of 'Acting Faith.' As we read the Bible let us act faith on each clause and verse of it—in other words, let us press upon our minds the consideration of the business of all that we are reading.

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* *Letter on the Principles of the Christian Faith.* By Hannah Sinclair. Edinburgh, 1818.

This may be combined with another good practical direction: Read the Bible with as particular an application to yourself as if you were the only person in the world, and as if, therefore, that redemption which was set up for the world was set up for your special and individual behoof. I advised a person lately to do that, and in homely phrase, as she is a homely person, she *yoked* to the reading of the Bible upon that principle, and by taking home to herself its invitations and its promises and its assurances, she has attained, I trust, peace and joy in believing. Extend this principle to the duties and the threatenings and all the other declarations of the Bible, and then will the believer be also the doer of the word, applying himself to the performance of all its precepts, and in so doing making the appointed use of all its privileges."

"GLASGOW, *November* 30*th*, 1818.

"MY EVER DEAREST JANE,—I received yours two days ago. I am sorry to perceive that you are still in heaviness, though I trust that you will at length reach a far more speedy and effectual deliverance from it than ever can be gotten by worldly intercourse. You have resources in Christian society, and I do think that Mr. Hoskins's family being so near is a great privilege. Other society than Christian I would not recommend; and I cannot tell you what an improvement has taken place of late in the peace and enjoyment of our family here, since we have adopted the resolution of *going out nowhere* excepting for a business or for a Christian object. This we have rigidly acted on since our last return to Glasgow, and are quite determined from our experience of its advantage never to recur again to society for the mere sake of general fellowship. The thing is endless, vexatious, and in every way unproductive. At the same time it does not hinder us from taking tea in such families as understand our plan, and are willing to turn the tea into a fellowship meeting, being at full liberty to introduce Christian conversation, being carried forward by the congenialities of those around us, and at the same time concluding by family worship. This I have only done twice, however, since we came back, which is upwards of six weeks ago, Mrs. Chalmers's cold preventing her from going out at all. I am happy to say, however, that she is getting better, and I trust that God will enable us to act inviolably upon this system. The spirit of the world is at antipodes with the spirit of the New Testament, withering, blasting, secularizing. The comfort we draw from this quarter is hollow, deceitful, and ruinous. Keep alive by prayer and the exercise of faith a spiritual mindedness, and you will reach tranquillity in this way if there be any truth in the Bible, for to be spiritually minded is life and peace.

" At the same time I would come forward with a direction which I think you will derive much comfort from the regular observance of. It is suggested both by my own experience, and by a remark of Brainerd, one of the most devotional and experimental Christians whom the world ever saw. He says, that even to the comfort of a religious life a regular distribution and filling up of time is very subservient, and I know nothing that would conduce more to your perfect restoration at present than such an arrangement and such a determination. One part of our family system we derive much pleasure and improvement from. From dinner to tea I read aloud to Mrs. Chalmers, and I never wish for a single creature to be with us whose call would interrupt this process. We are getting triumphantly on with Milner's ' Church History,' and in the same way it is possible that all the other home arrangements, regularly following each other and making progress towards a salutary object, may be powerfully instrumental in the hand of God to the purpose of sustaining the quietness of our spirits.

"It is a mighty interest we have at stake. Eternity is coming on. There is a contest to be maintained for it, for the crown of life is only given to him that overcometh. Though the warfare be not at our own charges—still there is a warfare. Though God worketh in us, still we have to will and to do, for it is just by making us will and do that He worketh. We should not be swallowed up of overmuch sorrow; we should not sink under the visitations of Providence. There may be a need for being in heaviness for a season, and you have had this season of heaviness. But the weight I trust will at length be cast aside, vigorous expedients resorted to for escaping from its pressure, the prevailing cry to God not cease to be lifted up, till the trial of your faith is completed, and it be found to praise and honour and glory.

"Perhaps you have anticipated me in that part of the plan which relates to family reading. I would recommend above all things religious lives to you. I think you will be pleased with the very progress of this operation, and long, as I do, for the coming round of this agreeable family exercise.

"Be assured that I know of nothing which more binds the members of a household into a common sympathy than some such joint exercise, from which all derive a common gratification."

"*Glasgow, February* 19*th*, 1819.—MY DEAREST JANE,—I expect to be out with a volume of Sermons next week, and propose sending your copy to London, that it might be forwarded to you by James. * * * Let this thought, that God cannot lie, keep in conscious safety the heart of every one who looketh to Jesus. They who look shall be saved. The sun in the firmament is often faintly seen through a cloud, but the spectator may be no less looking to him than when he is seen in full and undiminished effulgence. It is not to him who sees Christ brightly that the promises are made, but to him who looks to Christ. A bright view may minister comfort, but it is the looking which ministers safety. I know not if you have seen Rutherford's 'Letters.' They would delight you by the strong impregnation of spirituality there is in them, and would perhaps derive a subordinate interest from the Scottish dialect and Scottish familiarity of the composition. * * *

"My dear wife is certainly better than she was, though I am not without my anxieties. I desire to sit loose to the world, and would I could attain a habit of reconciliation with its bitterest deprivations, on the ground that God so willed it. I fear that I derive much of my composure from constant and engrossing employment. I should like to know that my labour is in the Lord, and then should I know that it is not in vain.

"Let us cherish the feeling of strangers and sojourners, and nothing shall disturb us. Nothing, says the Psalmist, offends those who love God's law. Great is their peace. What a desirable salvation is that which saves us from our hatred of God's law, which makes us consent to it, and delight in it after the inward man. Could people see that salvation is not so much from the punishment of sin as from the sin itself, they would be less doubtful about the necessity of sanctification, for in this case to be sanctified were something more than the fruit of being saved. It were to be saved itself; and, in truth, heaven has no other happiness to offer than that which springs from righteousness, and goodness, and truth. Let us cultivate these, and instead of looking upon heaven as the reward of them, look upon them as our heaven. They form the commencement of heaven here, and will be perfected hereafter, where we shall behold him as He is, and so become like unto Him. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Fairley, near Largs, June 30th*, 1819.—MY DEAREST JANE, —I have to apologize for this long delay. I do not in general suffer my letters to lie over a month, and ere this month comes to its end, I wish to acquit myself of an obligation that I have suffered to hang too long upon me.

"We are at present here in Mrs. Hutcheson's, about forty miles from Glasgow, on the sea-side, where I and the children bathe. I think that Mrs. Chalmers will be much the better of it: she is certainly stronger than she was, but I am not without my apprehensions, she has been so delicate all winter. I desire to bow myself before the will and wisdom of God; but I find, that without a hold of Christ, there is no hold of God at all. I fear that I have not adverted enough to the reception of the gospel as the great initiatory step of our return to God. Let us work as we may before this, we may widen our distance, but certainly not shorten it; and not till the tidings of great joy be simply taken in—not till credit is given to the plain word of the testimony—not till we believe the record—not till we are persuaded by the promises, and so embrace them, are we translated into the vantage-ground of reconciliation with God; and this entrance into peace is also the entrance into holiness. Let a man examine himself and tell me if, at the moment of his sinning wilfully, Christ was in his mind, or a faith in His blood was tranquillizing his fears of God's wrath. He says no. I reply, that had this consideration been present with him, the purpose of sinning wilfully would not have been present with him; or, in other words, let us keep a firm hold of Christ as our propitiation—let us dwell habitually on the doctrine of His cross, and we shall find it our best habitual defence against all the licentiousness and wilful sin that have been imputed to it.

"I had a letter from James in his usual characteristic style some time ago, and I thought fit to write him an admonitory letter upon the subject. It was a temperate enough reply; but there is a diseased nervousness about him of which I am partly conscious myself, and against which I know it is my duty to struggle to the uttermost. If the light of God's reconciled countenance were perpetually in the mind, it would surely keep the temper perpetually unruffled—coming to the great conclusion again, that by keeping the truth of salvation in our memory we keep the influence of the Spirit upon our hearts. What a marvellous gospel is that which opens a free portal to friendship with God for every sinner who will, and into which, if any sinner enter in, he will find purification as well as peace. May the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and grant that, by being kept steadfast in the faith, you may be kept steadfast in the whole discipline and obedience of the gospel."

"*Glasgow, April 13th*, 1820.—MY EVER DEAREST JANE,—I am exceedingly sorry to observe from your letter that you appear of late to have been looking more to yourself than to your Saviour. You never will reach comfort or maintain comfort in this way of it. God hath laid on His own Son the iniquities of us all. This is a truth, however much you may choose to intercept it from your own soul by shutting your eyes against it, and however much you may persist in forbidding yourself when God has not forbidden you, and however much you may look away from the grace and benignity and good will which are above you to the dark and fearful and suspicious nature that is within you. You never will fish up peace and joy from the privacies of your own heart, but you and all are invited to fetch down peace and joy from the Sun of righteousness, who stands openly and broadly in the view of all, and emits the widely sounding voice of 'Look unto me all ye ends of the earth and be saved.'

"If you think other people so much better than you are yourself as to resign all your pretensions into their hands, will you just resign your judgment, and more particularly your judgment of yourself, into their hands also? Now, I must say that my judgment of you is altogether different from your own. It is not true that all is over; and it is not true that you are beyond the reach of redeeming mercy; and it is not true that you are not welcome to forgiveness and acceptance through Christ; and it is not true, else God is a liar, that if you come unto Christ you will be cast out as having no part or lot in His salvation. I desire no better warrant for drawing nigh to God than that you have. I want no other calls than those which lie at your door as well as my own. I do not look for a larger and a kinder invitation than that which is equally addressed to you as to me. It is not because a more encouraging offer has come to me than to yourself that I feel peace when you feel none. If there be any difference it may lie in this, that I put the right interpretation upon the offer and you are mistaking it. The truth is, that your great error lies in constantly ruminating upon the act of faith, when you should be looking to the object of faith, in making your comfort turn upon the question, Do I believe? when you should make it turn upon the question, Is God willing to receive me into friendship for Christ's sake? There may hang a great doubtfulness upon the former question when there ought to hang none whatever on the latter question; and if you would just dwell more habitually on the latter it would bring you into a surer and speedier establishment of your peace, and at length make even the former question cease to be doubtful to you."

"*Glasgow, August 24th*, 1820.—MY EVER DEAREST JANE,—I cannot express the pleasure and satisfaction which your letter gave me, and I can assure you that, independently altogether of the gratification I obtained from learning that you were personally in greater peace and comfort than you have been heretofore, I also felt instructed by the just description that you gave me of what I count the very attitude in which a Christian should at all times be found, sensible that in himself there is nought but vileness and carnality and rebellion, and that all his supplies both of comfort and of strength should be fetched to him from the fulness that is in Christ Jesus.

"Be assured, that while you have suffered from an excess of sensibility on the topic of your own sinfulness, there are others, and myself among the number, who feel it to be their sore disease that they do not suffer enough—who are sensible of sin in themselves, without being sensible of its exceeding sinfulness, and whose only refuge, in these circumstances, is that Christ's righteousness can alone avail them for meritorious acceptance with God, and that His Spirit can alone revive within them those moral sensibilities which lie dormant and overborne under a sad burden of carnality."

"*Glasgow, November* 18*th*, 1820.—MY DEAR JANE,—Be assured that it is no want of affection which has kept me from writing to you, but bustle and variety and manifold engagements; and your letters are always acceptable, more particularly when they bring such pleasing accounts of your health and spirits. I trust that the sunshine of gospel truth will ever irradiate your mind; and recollect that your safety does not depend upon the state of your impressions within, which is variable, but upon the foundation which God himself hath laid, even on the work of Jesus Christ, the strength and efficacy of which are invariable. There is a great deal to be made of the phrase, 'that He is a *tried* foundation.' Let us try Him, and we shall never find Him give way under us. Let us venture our all upon Christ. And oh! that we felt more and more of peace in believing Him, and of delight in obeying Him.

"I perfectly agree with you in your sentiments about my mother; she is a truly substantial and meritorious personage, and, I believe, very much in earnest about her everlasting peace. I am glad that the thorns of anxiety about the matter of the settlement are well-nigh plucked away from her heart; and there is not an earthly object about which we should be more solicitous than that she shall enjoy the evening of her days in comfort and piety and peace.

"My dear wife and children are at present in good health. I have the utmost reason to be thankful on Mrs. Chalmers's account; I think her better than she has been for these two years; and, I am sure, that never could a kinder and a gentler spirit have been provided for the solace of my companionship through life. I wish you much peace in your family; and as this world's prosperity grows and becomes more abundant, may the still higher blessing of thankful hearts, illumined by the hope of the gospel, grow along with it."

"*Glasgow, May* 11*th*, 1821.—MY DEAR JANE,—I am surprised to hear of the prodigious length of time since I last wrote you. I had no idea that it was four months; but, indeed, my dear Jane, I scarcely expect to be able to do justice to any of my friends while I am involved in the bustle of my present undertakings. I lead a life of great fatigue and activity here, and yet am getting fat notwithstanding. But be that as it may, I have been visited of late by my old ambition for a professorship—that is, however, a theological professorship, where, with God's blessing, I think I could do infinitely greater good to the cause than by fagging among the details of one parish and one congregation. All the civic purposes that were to be served by my peculiar management are now as good as accomplished; and to make ministers is a far higher function than to be a minister. Should I ever succeed in this object then the unbounded leisure of summer would enable me to do many things that I at present cannot do; and I beg more particularly that you will assure Mr. Edkins that my declining to do for him the services he requires is due altogether to the pressure and urgency of my own immediate engagements.

"I trust that you will go peacefully and prosperously on in the great work of sanctification. Would you inquire for Guthrie's 'Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ?' It is a small duodecimo, and has been long the favourite author of our peasantry in Scotland. He wrote about a hundred and fifty years ago; and one admirable property of his work is, that while it guides it purifies. It makes known all our defects, but ministers the highest comfort in the presence of a feeling of our defects. To find mercy we need only to feel misery. One of the most precious little remarks I have met with lately is in 'Owen on Indwelling Sin,' where he adverts to a believer being far more apt to be burdened with a sense of sin, and to feel the fear of it in his own character, than an unbeliever, 'because,' says he, 'if we are carried along the stream we fear nothing, and it is only when we strive against it that its progress and power are discernible.'"

"*Glasgow, October* 19*th*, 1821.—MY EVER DEAREST JANE,—I was exceeding sorry to perceive the tenor of your last communication—not that it gave me the slightest apprehension for your safety, but that I feel for your present heaviness, for which, it would appear, that there is a *needs be*, (1 Pet. i. 6,) though, in due time, God will again exalt you. The cross, my dear J., is the way to the crown; and it still holds true, that the way to heaven is through manifold tribulations. Think not that any strange thing hath happened to you. Your case has been exemplified a thousand and a thousand times over by saints who are now in glory, and such examples have not yet ceased. It is not a week ago since I had converse with a young lady exercised just as you are, and that after an interval of fifteen years, all which time she drooped and was in exceeding despondency under a similar visitation. We are poor weak variable creatures; but Christ is the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever. I regard your present darkness as arising from a cloud that passeth over the creature, and not from any real change of aspect or regard towards you on the part of the faithful Creator. You believe in the undiminished lustre of the natural sun even though the day should be overcast and lowering; exercise the same faith in the Sun of righteousness. It requires, no doubt, a stronger faith to believe in the dark, as Samuel Rutherford expresses it, than to believe in the full sunshine of clear and gracious manifestations; but does not this very circumstance prove that safety is one thing and sensible comfort is another? for, in proportion to the want of sensible comfort may the strength of that principle of faith be on which alone depends the acceptance and salvation of a sinner. It is not he that brightly images the Saviour, but he that believes the Saviour, who shall not be confounded or put to shame. Trust, then, in the midst of discouragements: keep a determined hold while the billows of temptation pass over you: say,—Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him; and when like to give way under the imagination that you are ready to perish, bethink yourself of the cross of Christ, and, be assured, it is utterly impossible you can perish while so employed.

" I am more convinced than ever that professing Christians do not lay their account sufficiently with trials in this world. They are not enough impressed with their condition as strangers and pilgrims; their appetite is far too much set on present enjoyments; nor do any of us feel aught as if we were on a journey of hardships and difficulties, and often great painfulness, else we would be more prepared to endure hardness as good soldiers of Christ Jesus.

"I have been reading lately Romaine's 'Life of Faith,' I am now reading his 'Walk of Faith,' and I mean to conclude the series by reading his 'Triumph of Faith.' I do not want to divert you from the Bible, but I think that these treatises are fitted to urge upon you the very comfort and direction which are in the Bible. He is very precious, in particular, upon the cross; and I begin to see how wrong it is to calculate upon much in the way of rest or recreation on this side of time. Oh! we are not enough of travellers—not enough as if setting or set out on our path to eternity—too much bent on present happiness, rather than living by future hope. If you see not now much of the glory of God, rejoice in the hope of that glory."

"*Glasgow, November 30th*, 1821.—Your last letter, as was to be expected, gave me great uneasiness, but I can truly say that it had no weight whatever in convincing me of the truth of your imaginations. You and every human creature have your changes and your fluctuations, but Christ is unchangeable. Disease may draw a sort of darkening shroud for a time over your heart, or it may be permitted to the great adversary of souls to do the same, but the Sun of righteousness is, nevertheless, shining all the while; and your state is altogether different from the state of those who are in darkness because they love the darkness. This is the state of all worldly men. But you, so far from loving the darkness feel it to be your sore burden, make it the subject of your heavy complaints, reproach yourself for hardness because you do not feel enough; and yet, I am sure, that were the alternative proposed to you, whether would you have the light of Christ in your soul or be made the most prosperous and replete with earthly enjoyments of all who are alive, you never would hesitate one moment. You would instantly show the difference that there was between yourself and him whose portion is on this side of time, who has made the world his resting-place, and who, instead of longing after the beams of Divine truth, finds them to be in every way offensive and uncongenial to him. If you cannot enjoy at present you can at least wait. You may just look as you can to the word of God's prophecy, aye and until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your heart; and it is impossible that one who so waiteth and so longeth will for ever be shut out from the comfort and the accomplishment of such precious sayings as that 'the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin,' and 'God is not willing that any should perish,' and 'He will give his Spirit to them who ask Him,' taking out the heart of stone, and at length dissolving their hardness, and giving them a heart of flesh."

"*Glasgow, May 24th,* 1823.—MY DEAREST JANE,—It gave us all very sincere pleasure to hear of the amendment of your health, and we do most sincerely hope that it will make progress to a perfect recovery. I think it very opportune that you come to us at the time you propose, for it is the very time when I domesticate in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, sharing my whole time between the study of my preparations for St. Andrews, and family relaxation. Even though I should have to spend six or eight hours every day in my attic storey this will still leave a far greater remainder for those in my own house than I have ever had since I came to this neighbourhood.

"If God be pleased to spare me I think that I might now look for more repose and more of attention to my own personal Christianity than I have been able to have in this sadly bustling city. I am so thankful at an opening which combines with a relief that was quite indispensable to me, a station of far greater public utility than the one which I now occupy. It is indeed a mighty call upon me to make it so, that the Christianity of the step has been so much doubted and questioned by many; and additionally to the higher calls of duty, I do confess that I should feel a satisfaction in being able by proof and actual exhibition, to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. This however is of no importance, and should be felt so when compared with the glory of God and the good of His Son's Church upon earth."

"*Glasgow, September 16th*, 1823.—MY DEAREST JANE,—It were well if we could at all times simply and firmly put our trust in God. I feel the evil heart that departs from the living God. I know that I have been sadly secularized among the manifold engagements and agitations of Glasgow. It will need much prayer and watchfulness, and stirring up of decayed feelings, to strengthen within me the things that remain and are ready to die. Forbid that philosophy should seduce me from the simplicity that is in Christ. I have often been comforted by that passage where the Apostle adverts to the oppositions of science, but adds immediately, 'falsely so called.' It is false science only that he abjures, and this is tantamount to the recognition of true science. I am strongly impressed with the conviction that from science, and more particularly from that branch of it with which I am now more particularly associated, there may be gathered so many trophies to the glory of God, and to the doctrine of his Son's cross. I entreat your prayers, that God may bless my retirement, that He may guide my speculations aright, that He may enable me simply and humbly and faithfully to prosecute the cause of truth, and renouncing self with all its vanities, to seek the honour of God, and illustrate His ways for the salvation of men.

"It is proposed that my last Sunday here shall be the 9th of November, which is the one immediately succeeding our sacrament. I shall probably give my first lecture in St

Andrews on the 17th of November, and am hopeful that I may be enabled to describe my course in a decent and unexceptionable way."

"I am quite ashamed of myself," said Dr. Chalmers; "I meet so many people daily in the street whom we ought to have invited here long ago." Mrs. Chalmers, to whom these words were addressed, felt that some slight reproach was cast upon her domestic management, as if a larger hospitality should have been exercised. Her quiet but effective method of turning this reproach aside was to keep an accurate list of those who sat down to table during the week or two which followed. This list has unfortunately been lost. It showed, that at breakfast, dinner, tea, and supper, on almost every day but Sunday, different relays of guests had been received; and when the gross aggregate was exhibited to Dr. Chalmers he was himself astonished, and confessed that he had no idea that so broad and continuous a stream was passing through his dwelling. The door of that dwelling was indeed thrown quite open; and there were so many waiting to seize the opportunity of personal contact with its admired and honoured host as to create a continued pressure at its entrance. His manifold parochial labours brought parishioners and agents in crowds about him; beyond the limits of his own congregation, a wide circle of friends, who could not persuade him to enter so largely as they desired into general society, were delighted to snatch a few moments of him in his own dwelling, while there was scarcely a stranger or foreigner of distinction visiting Glasgow who, bringing an introduction, did not find that it secured immediate and easy access.* Occasionally he complained of this, but in truth he invited and encouraged it to the uttermost. Let his hours for study be secured, and there was scarcely any wearying of him by any succession of visitors, however numerous or varied. There have at times been three different rooms full of people waiting for him, and when he issued from his retirement he had a cordial welcome ready for each one of them. His social retirement or relaxation lay in a visit to Fifeshire, or a day or two in one or other of the suburban villas, which were always ready to receive him, or in a visit to Mount Greenan or Killermont, Glenfinart or Broomhall. It was a wide range of intercourse from the parochial tea-table of some honest citizen to the cultivated society of the wealthy commoner or the polished peer, but Dr. Chalmers relished it almost equally at either extreme. Delighting in his visitations among the poor, he had the highest possible appreciation of the refinement of manners and high culture of intellect and taste generally attendant upon rank.

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* One of these foreigners with whom Dr. Chalmers was particularly interested was Monsieur Biot, the celebrated mathematician. For some extracts from a correspondence with him, see Appendix N.

" I think it was 1818 or 1819," says Mr. Colquhoun, " that Dr. Chalmers first came to Killermont. I have received (for I was not then at home) an account of one incident of his visit from my friend Mr. Dundas, the sheriff of Selkirkshire, which is too characteristic to be omitted. Our family circle was then unbroken, and among them my eldest sister, who to her many accomplishments added the study of botany, attracted Dr. Chalmers's attention. With his usual warm interest in the pursuits of the young he talked with her on that subject and examined the flora which she had collected. One plant in the series was wanting, and he inquired why ; on her telling him that she had not been able to find it, he said it was surely to be had in the neighbourhood, and the subject dropt for that evening. The next morning, when the family assembled for prayers, Dr. Chalmers did not appear, and his bedroom was deserted. The family sat down to breakfast without him, nor was it till breakfast was half over that he came into the room, his hat in his hand, tired and heated from a long walk, but carrying with him the missing plant, which he presented to my sister. It is needless to say how much this trait affected the young hearts that were present, as it has remained impressed on Mr. Dundas to the present day.

"Dr. Chalmers's next visit to Killermont must have been in the summer or autumn of 1822, and we all recollect the interest which he showed in conversing with myself, then at Oxford, and with my brother, then quite a boy, on the subject of our respective studies. It was not the manner of a man who condescended to minds far his inferiors, but as if he became one of us, and our studies were as keenly relished by him as if he were himself engaged in them. To my brother he talked eagerly of his boyish studies; of me he inquired much of an Oxford course, and seemed to listen with as much delight to my account of Aristotle's Ethics, which he compared with his favourite Butler, as though the Oxford student could give instead of gaining information; and in his walks with us his delights in nature were more keen than those of any of the party; and whilst rowing in the boat on the river Kelvin gathering the water lilies, of which I remember he had an intense admiration, his glee was as boyish as ours.

"Some years afterwards he passed several days at Killermont; our family circle was then sorely broken, and there remained only two of the sisters whom he had before seen, but I well remember that to one of these, who died the following summer, his conversation on religious subjects was of the utmost benefit. She saw along with the greatness, the simplicity and tenderness of his mind, and was encouraged, in some walks which she took with him, to confide to him her doubts and difficulties. I wish I had preserved the letter in which, after her death, he alluded to this, and spoke with characteristic force of the preparedness which he had noticed in her heart for the great change which was then before her. But, mixed with all that readiness to converse on religious subjects, was the same buoyant delight in literature, the arts, and the beauties of nature. I recollect his profound admiration for some casts from busts of the great painters and architects in the Capitol at Rome, from which, he said, he took in great impressions—the exquisite enjoyment when, riding in the afternoon on a quiet pony, he was taken to see the distant views of Ben Lomond and Loch Lomond. His habit, I remember, was to go to his room after breakfast, and to remain there till one or two o'clock engaged in writing, at times telling us that he had written without intermission, and, at other times, that he had a blank morning, and had not done a quarter of an hour's work with his pen—his practice being, as he told me, after attempting some time unsuccessfully, to lay his pen down, and take up a book upon some subject entirely different from that on which he was writing, until the inspiration of composition returned upon him, and he then resumed his work. His habits in society varied. Generally, when at his ease, and when his mind was not occupied with a train of thought, his conversation was full of interest, and it became so almost always when those who were with him touched upon a congenial subject, when he threw himself into it with all his peculiar strength and eloquence of language combined with the most unaffected simplicity, but at times I have seen him perfectly silent, and wearing that blank look which he could throw into his countenance when the mind was otherwise engaged. I remember the late Lady Colquhoun gave me an instance of this, which, I imagine, must have occurred about the same time. He had gone, for the first time, to pay a visit at Rossdhu, and Lady C. waited his arrival with great anxiety; when, however, he was shown into the drawing-room, after the first salutations were over, he sat perfectly silent, wearing his blank look. She tried a variety of subjects, but in vain, and he soon retired to his room. On coming down to dinner, he apologized, in the most amiable manner, for his silence, confessing, that a train of thought on the subject on which he was writing had occurred to him on his journey to Rossdhu, and that he was terrified lest, if he entered into conversation, he should lose it before it was secured on paper."

Such was Dr. Chalmers in the bosom of his family, in correspondence with his relatives, and as he moved among his fellow-men. Honoured, admired, beloved, wherever he went and in whatever circle he mingled, spiritual danger might have lurked in the universal homage which was rendered to him, had he been numbered with those who judging themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves with others, are not wise. But since those memorable days at Kilmany, when the Spirit of God had taught him what he truly was, and what the law of God imperatively required, he had been accustomed to judge himself according to a higher than the human standard, and, by its constant application, had been learning the lesson of humility. How he thought and felt when regarding himself in his higher relationships, and placing himself before the supreme tribunal, the reader may form some idea from the following extracts from a Journal kept during a rapid visit paid to Anstruther and St. Andrews during the spring of 1821, and from his ordinary Journal, which, after a cessation of some years, we recover, although in sadly contracted dimensions, in the beginning of 1822:—

"*February 22d*, 1821.—Read a little of Guthrie with much satisfaction. What a blessed assurance, that they who believe in Christ shall not be ashamed. Let us trust in His promises, and we shall not be ashamed by the failure. He hath promised that we shall not be tried beyond our ability for bearing. He hath promised that they who submit themselves to the mighty hand of God shall be exalted in due time. He hath promised that our sins and our iniquities shall be remembered no more. There is a wonderful charm in the righteousness of Christ becoming ours by faith: it throws another moral atmosphere over the soul, and renews at the very time that it pacifies. I desire Christ to be all in all to me.

" *February 26th.*—Surely in the keeping of the heart with all diligence, in the maintenance of the life of faith, in the pressing forward from one degree of grace unto another, in the habitual looking up to God in Christ, and forward to eternity—surely in all this there is enough to keep the mind awake, and to raise it above all the dependencies of a vexatious world. I have derived much comfort from the text, ' Be careful *for nothing*, but *in everything*, by prayer and supplication, make your requests known unto God.' I find relief in prayer. May the overruling God cause all things to work together for my good. I desire to be weaned from myself, and wedded to the Saviour—to abide in Him, and bring forth such fruits as may glorify the Father. I am on the eve of finishing Guthrie, which I think is the best book I ever read.* I shall leave it as a present to the Anster folks, and pass from it to ' Brook on Religious Experience.'

" *St. Andrews, February 28th.*—I have here a very full enjoyment of all the pleasures of memory, and, on looking back to the familiar scenes of twenty-five years ago, feel a most interesting glow and revival in my heart; but the men have all disappeared, and, oh! that we felt as we ought what a shifting land it is that we occupy. * * * I called at the room which I occupied in the College for three years, from 1796 to 1799, and which is still occupied by one of the students. I found three of the divines here, and had a little conversation with them. Went into the closet, and adverted to the coal-bunker from which I had been in the habit of making my own fire. * * * Dined with a professorial party: much literary facetiousness, and more of the truly academic cast than can be met with in Glasgow from one end of the year to the other of it. I met with much unmerited kindness, and even distinction; but I still perceive what a seducing thing literature is when unaccompanied with the life and earnestness of Christianity."

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* " I should like to know how the little book I left was relished among you. I still think it the best human composition I ever read relating to a subject in which we are all deeply interested, and about which, it is my earnest prayer, that we may all be found on the right side of the question."—From a letter dated Glasgow, 29th March, 1821.

"*Tuesday, January 1st*, 1822.—Miscellaneous. Wrote an address for my agency. In depression and perplexity on the earlier part of the day, but found great relief afterwards from 'Thomas a Kempis.' Should be greatly more passive and unconcerned than I have hitherto been, and above all, less anxious about vindication in the eyes of my fellows, remembering that it is God with whom I have to do. Oh! teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom. Lighten, if it be Thy blessed will, the pressure of this world's cares, and above all reconcile me to Thy will, and give me a peace which the world cannot take away.

"4*th.*—Dined with Mr. Ewing. I fear that my manner is greatly too intolerant. Let me guard against it. Oh! let not the flesh have dominion over me. I enjoyed an evening of greater tranquillity than I have had for upwards of a twelvemonth. O my God, do Thou perpetuate this, and enable me to consecrate my days to Thy service and glory. Protect me from mine enemies, and give me courage and conduct and charity in the midst of them.

"14*th.*—Make me at length to transfer all my energies to the pursuit of what is enduring. Lift me above the world, and mortify me alike to its pleasures and its pains. Yet let Christ live in me, and make me to be all awake to the joys and exercises of the coming immortality.

" 15*th*.—A forenoon and afternoon of regular composition. Called on Mrs. Hutchison. Had Mr. Allan Buchanan to drink tea: he is friendly to the chapel speculation. I am sadly depressed when my eye is towards my relations with the creature, but have found an escape from this when casting my eyes towards Divine things. Is not this finding tribulation in the world and peace in Christ?

" 16*th*.—A forenoon and afternoon of regular composition. Make daily visits to the Missionary reading-room. Find nought but misery in the field of my earthly contemplations. Cause this desolation to be replaced by the things that are above—by the realities of faith—by the hopes of immortality. Yet I find that I must not let go my hold of Christ, or I relapse into all the perplexities, and agonies, and fears of nature.

" 23*d*.—I am getting more into a bustled and arduous state, and must shrink back again a little more into retirement. O my God, may I yield myself up unto Thy service, and actually serve Thee.

" 25*th*.—Had a parochial address in St. John's Church in the evening. A little colded. I find how fatigue lays me open to the power of evil thoughts. Is not this a proof that my labours are not spiritual? If they were so, would not a holy influence emanate from them? O my God, give me to grieve not Thy Spirit. May I hold a busy transaction with Him all the day long.

" *Sunday* 27*th*.—Let me humble myself under the mighty hand of God and He will exalt me. O my God, aid and counsel me; translate me into the life of faith; give me to lie under a constant sense of death and eternity. Keep me close by Christ, and sanctify me wholly.

"*February 4th*—Attended the session, and had a missionary meeting in Church after it. O my God, give me to enter more decisively on the business of my sanctification. Do emancipate me wholly, Almighty Father; and seeing that I have now had so much of Christianity in word, let me try and taste what sort of thing Christianity is in power.

"*February* 6*th.*—An ordinary meeting of Presbytery; dislike its atmosphere though it is my duty to enter it, and if possible to soften and transform it. I desire a habitual sense of my own emptiness, and long for the feeling of a positive grace or influence from on high out of Christ's fulness. O my God, confirm my peace; enable me to rest upon Thyself, and to fear not what man can do. Accept of my gratitude for Thy preservation of my dear wife. Do sanctify her wholly, and may I be enabled to watch over the souls of my dear children. Deliver me from worldliness, and teach me to know Thyself and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.

"18*th.*—Begin to feel again the fatigue and the sore vexation of Glasgow. O my God, may I be still and do Thy work as Thy servant. Admit me into Thy service. Loose my bonds. Give me to strive that I may enter in at the strait gate. Oh! for Christ's sake be merciful to me, and put thy law in my heart. Bruise Satan under my feet shortly. Give me to be patient in tribulation, and rejoicing in hope. Introduce me into converse with the spiritual realities of my condition.

"23*d.*—Mr. Gladstone breakfasted, Mr. Erskine dined, and staid. I felt absorbed, and not so open to Mr. Erskine's conversation as usual.

"*Sunday* 24*th.*—Was greatly impressed with Mr. Erskine's talk about realizing God every quarter of an hour. O Heavenly Father, let me do it, and free me from the sense of guilt towards thyself, and enable me rightly and rejoicingly to lift up my head in the presence of my enemies.

" 25*th.*—Disturbed, but feel great alleviation in the habitual realizing which I have had all this day of God. Oh! sustain me in this, Almighty Father. May I hide me in the pavilion of thy residence.

" 27*th.*—Gleams of comfort, all of which to be true must be shed upon me from higher and greater views than any which this world can open.

" 28*th.*—O my Saviour, I do nothing for thee!

" *March* 20*th.*—Had a clerical meeting in Dr. Dewar's. Greatly soothed and relieved by its spiritual atmosphere.

" *April* 7*th.*—May I exercise myself unto godliness. O my God, may the fear of Thee supplant every other fear, and the love of Thee subordinate every other love. It is humiliating amid the busy externals of religion to think how little my soul is taking up or making progress therein. Cause me to be filled with that peace which passeth all understanding.

" 8*th.*—This our day of thanksgiving; Mr. Hamilton preached. Had a small party of deacons and elders along with Dr. Scott. Erred in bringing on the topic of pauperism, and so elbowing out better things.

" 9*th.*—O my God, cause me to hold Thee in constant remembrance. Restore energy to me, but let me never lose sight of my creatureship and my worthlessness. May I be pure in heart, and so see God. Loose all my bonds, and may I serve Thee with delight and thankfulness all my days.

" 10*th.*—A remark of Mr. Craig's about the recognition of the Spirit both in our private Christianity and in our ministrations impressed me much. I desire to grow in detachedness from this world, and in devotedness to Him who made it.

" *Sunday,* 14*th.*—Was fatigued, but went through a good deal of family exercise in the evening. Regaled myself with the solidity of the objective part of religion, and long to enter a field of enlargement in preaching on the essential truths of the gospel. Let me know nothing among my people but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

"*Sunday, April* 21*st.*—I was greatly fatigued, and feel particularly deficient in such soul exercises as distinguished the history of Boston and many others. But let me at least exercise constant faith.

"*May 9th.*—A most tempestuous day in the Presbytery, and the prospect before me now of a complete argumentation on the topic of my chapel before the General Assembly. I must now give myself up to the labour of preparation, and at the same time be calm and humble, and commit myself to God.

"12*th.*—I feel the obligation of domestic Christianity, but am straitened and at a loss how to go about it. Let me not be slothful but a follower of those who through faith and patience are now inheriting the promises.

"24*th.*—Had my laborious speech in the Assembly.

"*August 3d.*—I feel the claim and the power of Christ's imputed righteousness. O my God, enable me to be the faithful and effective herald of this great truth to my people.

"*Sunday,* 17*th October.*—Have a strong tendency to religious contemplation in my bed. I trust that faith both in its peace and purifying influence is making progress. But, oh how great ought to be my watchfulness and humility."

CHAPTER XVII.

FAREWELL DISCOURSES IN ST. JOHN'S AND THE CHAPEL OF EASE—SPIRITUAL FRUITS OF THE MINISTRY IN GLASGOW—ESTIMATE OF ITS GENERAL EFFECTS—DEPARTURE FROM GLASGOW—INSTALLATION AND INTRODUCTORY LECTURE AT ST. ANDREWS.

SUCH painful feelings had been excited by the first announcement of Dr. Chalmers's acceptance of the Chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews, that it was some time before he could bring himself to allude publicly to the subject. At length, however, in addressing a meeting of his agency held in February 1823, he thus ventured upon the delicate topic:—"About three months ago, Gentlemen, I had prepared an address to you on the subject of English pauperism, and what I conceived to be its influence on the moral and spiritual state of the population. That preparation was the result of a visit, and of the many examinations which I had made in various parishes of England, and I hoped by it to satisfy your minds on the great Christian importance of a question which I shall ever, I think, regard as one on which the best interests of many millions of beings are suspended. Nor is there wanting, I apprehend, the sanction even of apostolical example for the man who breathes the desire of the evangelical heart to busy and to interest himself in this great undertaking. I have ever been struck with that procedure of the Apostle of the Gentiles, whereby he relinquished for a time ministerial labour, exchanged the work of the pulpit for the work of the common tent-maker—was so impressed with the mischief of dependence on public charity as to put forth his own hands, that he might teach the people how they should strive to the uttermost of themselves rather than be burdensome to others. Nothing but a strong and rivetted conviction in his mind of the mighty bearing which such a lesson had on the interests of the gospel could have tempted away from his more peculiar vocation that man who was determined to know nothing among his people save Christ and Him crucified; and, I trust, that even at this hour it is possible to give part of one's strength and attention to this very cause, and yet truly to say with the Psalmist, in reference to the cause of human souls and their salvation from guilt, 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning: let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chiefest joy.'

"I have still the prospect of one or two addresses to you more, and in one or other of them I may offer to you the result of my various observations on the busy tour which I lately prosecuted through England. At present, I confess to you, I have no heart for it. This theme is for the present dispossessed by one that is greatly nearer and more interesting. The pauperism of England for the time being is not the matter on hand; and you will indulge me if, even in the treatment of that matter, there shall be a want of that vigour or distinctness which ought to characterize every intellectual exposition. There are seasons of turbulence in which, like the vessel in a storm, the mind is driven from all her purposed bearings, and lies at the mercy of a thousand fluctuations; there are moral hurricanes, throughout the violence of which all pilotage is abandoned, and there is nothing for it but to lie in helpless and hopeless endurance till the tempest shall be blown over, till the effervescence shall in some measure be wrought off and subsided, and those powers which stood off in passive abeyance shall again resume their wonted command, and take the same collected survey as before of those signs that are around it, and the prospects which lie before it. I wished to have convened you sooner, Gentlemen, but positively I could not. To withstand the heavy and the altered countenances of my best friends was greatly too much for me. Not that I have been led to construe it into any feeling of hostility on your part; I flatter myself with a better interpretation; and I am still confident, if not of your approbation, at least of your regard; and I know experimentally what the general complexion of every such separation is, and I remember well the cold and withered aspect that sat on a much loved parish when all its kind and cherished intimacies I resolved to abandon at the voice of a call from an unknown land. It appeared like a blight on all the subsisting cordialities which up to that moment were in full operation amongst us; but it was not so. Their distaste for the movement, and their distance of manner, and even their disapprobation, all turned out to be temporary. A few months wrought out, not perhaps a reconciliation of feeling, but what was of more importance, a reconciliation of principle. The conscientious of my former neighbourhood now admit that I was right. From you, on the present occasion, I cannot expect any such admission. I have done nothing which at all entitles me to require it at your hands; I have not yet made out my claim to such an acknowledgment. This is the season of my endurance, under which I must put up with the many adverse judgments of men, and lay my account with the censure and condemnation of many of my fellows. It is only by the history of my future years that I can work out a satisfactory vindication, and, I do confess, that next to the force of that primary obligation under which I lie, to do all and to suffer all in the service of my Master in heaven, there is a human or an earthly force that powerfully urges me on to vindicate the Christianity of my present movement. I am most thoroughly aware that you will not be the indifferent spectators of my future story, and I am aware both of the indulgence and of the moral earnestness wherewith you will regard it; and I know that your imperative demand upon me is, that I shall give myself wholly to the calls of the gospel—to the service and interest of the Redeemer's kingdom in the world. I am too well convinced both of the honesty and independence of your judgment, to think that you will ever cheer me with the sentence of your positive approbation till you have seen of my after labours that they are instrumentally more productive of a blessing to the cause than would have been the continuance of my exertions in the midst of you. You will forgive me, Gentlemen, if, additional to the direct impulse of principle, I shall feel the consideration which I am now stating to be indeed a powerful auxiliary stimulus to the labours of the years that are to come, if I shall make it the study of my life to earn at length from your own mouths the verdict of my ample justification, if I shall look onwards to this as the most gratifying triumph which the world could afford me; and after working for, and perhaps winning the meed of your explicit acknowledgment in my favour, I shall exult in it as the proudest and most pleasing recompense for all my agitations."

In the summer months of 1823, Mr. Parker invited Dr. Chalmers to occupy Blochairn, a house in the immediate neighbourhood of Glasgow. Tempted by the opportunities for quiet study which such a residence appeared to offer, Dr. Chalmers accepted this invitation. So strong, however, was the hold which Glasgow continued to retain, and so desirous was he to consecrate to her service the last relics of available time and strength, that the period for his removal overtook him with scarcely any preparations made for his new duties at St. Andrews. On Wednesday, the 5th November, he laid before the Presbytery of Glasgow his letter of resignation of the church and parish of St. John's, which, after many expressions of affectionate regret from different members, the Presbytery was pleased to accept. As his installation at St. Andrews was to take place on Friday the 14th November, it was understood that his farewell discourse in the church of St. John's would be preached on Sabbath the 9th. Applications for admission had for several weeks been pouring in with distressing profusion upon those who had seats in that church. To many individuals of rank and consideration tickets were issued entitling them to a place on the pulpit stair or in the vacant area around the precentor's desk. As it was resolved that every possible effort should be made to secure admission to the regular seatholders or their friends, and to those to whom tickets had been thus appropriated, the elders and doorkeepers, assisted by a strong body of police, planted themselves, on Sabbath morning, at the main entrance to the church. At so early an hour as nine o'clock an ominous stream of foot-passengers began to turn into Macfarlane Street, and the roll of carriage wheels was heard sounding along the Gallowgate. Before the doors were opened, Macfarlane Street, and other neighbouring streets, were filled with excited groups waiting eagerly for admission. At last the main entrance was thrown open, the gathered crowd converged upon it, and the conflict commenced. For a brief season the efforts of the doorkeepers and their allies were successful; the assailants, however, multiplied so rapidly, and the mass accumulated behind drove on those before them with such impetuosity, that the well-guarded entrance was forced. When it was seen that success had crowned the efforts of the assailants, the crush through the passage became tremendous—a dense but still struggling mass of human beings compressed for a few moments into extreme compactness, and then expanding as the perilous passage at last was made and the interior of the church was gained—some to draw breath after the stifling squeeze—some to rearrange their dishevelled habiliments—some to turn an eager eye upon the scene of recent conflict. And now the tide of battle was for a moment turned as a party of the 73d Regiment, summoned hastily from the adjacent barracks, forced their way through all impediments, and took up their position beside the entrance to the church. By their effective aid, and after much personal exertion, the elders and doorkeepers succeeded in obtaining access for a number of the congregation who otherwise would have been excluded. Still, however, even through the barrier of bayonets, the crowd continued to make way, till not a single spot of sitting or standing ground within was left unoccupied. Into a church seated for about 1700 nearly double that number was packed. "The pew in which I sat"—one who was present has informed us—"contained fourteen sittings, but on that occasion twenty-six persons were crammed into it, some sitting, some standing on the floor, others standing on the seat." The confusion grew within as the pressure somewhat abated from without; and it was no gentle or very Sabbath frame of spirit that prevailed. At length the preacher rose within that pulpit from which he was to address his hearers for the last time. In a moment the bustle ceased, and all the varied expressions of that great crowd of faces was turned into one uniform gaze of fixed and profound attention. After prayer and praise, the text, from Psalm cxxxvii. 5, 6, was twice distinctly read, and its general lessons having been unfolded and impressed, and the preacher coming at the close to speak to those from whom, as their minister, he was now to be finally dissevered,—"I will never forget," he said, "that it is your princely beneficence which has carried me forward in covering this parish with those institutions both of scholarship and piety that have done most to grace and to dignify the people of our beloved land. I will never forget the labours of that devoted band to whose union and perseverance I still look for even greater services than they have yet rendered to the cause of Christian philanthropy. I will never forget the unexcepted welcome and kindness of my parochial families, among whom the cause, that to the superficial eye looks unpopular and austere, hath now found its conclusive establishment. I never will forget the indulgence and the friendly regards of this congregation; and I beg to assure each and all of them, that if a cold and ungenial apathy, whether of look or of manner, was all the return that they ever could obtain for their demonstrations of Christian affection towards myself, it was not because I had not the conviction of that manifold good-will which was on every side of me, but that moving in a wide and busy sphere, and hurried in the course of a few moments from one act of intercourse to another with more than a thousand of my fellows, my jaded and overborne feelings could not keep pace with it. There are hundreds and hundreds more whom in person I could not overtake, but whom in the hours of cool and leisurely reflection I shall know how to appreciate. And when I gaze on that quarter—the richest to me of all the wide horizon in the treasures of cordiality and grateful remembrance—then sweeter than to the eye are those tints of loveliness which the western sun stretches in golden clouds above it will be the thought of all the worth and the tenderness and the noble generosity that are there. Oh! I never can forget the city of so many Christian and kind-hearted men. I never will forget the countenance I have gotten from its upright and patriotic citizens. * * * From the deep exhaustion—not incurred in the treatment of my parochial managements, for at all times was there a charm and tranquillity in these—but from the deep exhaustion of hurry and fatigue and manifold distractions from without, have my footsteps been lured into a most congenial resting-place, among whose academic bowers Rutherford and Halyburton spent the evening of their days, and amid whose venerable ruins their bodies now sleep until the resurrection of the just. Should those high and heavenly themes on which they expatiated through life, and which shed a glory over their deathbeds, ever cease to be dear unto my bosom—should the glare of the world's philosophy ever seduce me from the wisdom and simplicity of the faith—should Jesus Christ and Him crucified not be the end of all my labours in expounding the law of righteousness, then let the fearful judgment of Heaven blight and overcast the faculties that I thus have prostituted. 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem—if I forget thee, O thou Church and city of my God—let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth: if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.' "*

When Dr. Chalmers descended from the pulpit it was entered by the Rev. Edward Irving, who invited the vast congregation to accompany him, as with solemn pomp and impressive unction he poured out a prayer for that honoured minister of God who had just retired from among them. The church had been so closely packed that it took forty minutes to empty itself;

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* On the fly-leaf of an old book in his library—entitled "A Sober Enquiry into the Nature, Measure, and Principle of Moral Virtue: its Distinction from Gospel Holiness; with Reflections upon what occurs Disserviceable to Truth and Religion in this matter, in three late Books, &c. By R. F. London, 1673"—the following memorandum was found written:—"*Sunday, August* 10*th*, 1823.—This book was given to me this morning by Thomas Lilly, No. 1, Saracen's Lane, off the Gallowgate, Glasgow, when I called on his daughter, with a view to engage her as a teacher to one of my parish Sabbath schools. His object is that I may be guided aright in the labours of my new office; and I hereby testify the desire that I feel to harmonize the spirit of a moral philosophy class with that spirit which actuates a pious and humble family in the commonest walks of society.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

and before the last of the hearers had left St. John's, Dr. Chalmers, who had barely time to transfer himself from the statelier to the humbler edifice, had commenced the afternoon service in the Chapel of Ease. His text here was from Heb. iii. 13. After dwelling upon the danger of postponing to a deathbed the great and urgent work of preparation for eternity, he continued thus:—"But while I would urge upon every obstinate and stout-hearted sinner the hopelessness of a deathbed repentance, I must not omit to mention how in the Bible there is recorded one instance of repentance even then, that none might despair, though only one, that none may presume. For myself I never met with one decisive evidence of a saving change in a malefactor's cell, and out of many hundreds I can quote exceedingly few in the chamber of a last and a fatal disease. There is, however, one very delightful experience of this sort that is still fresh upon my memory, and which I relate in this place because the scene of it was in the immediate neighbourhood, and within the confines of that territory upon which this chapel stands. Though I should not name the individual I may name his residence, which was in Marlborough Street, and his occupation, which was that of an operative weaver. I think I can at least say of him, that though he had past the season of youth, and was somewhere between it and middle age, he only a few months before his decease was not serious. There is much in the progress of a wasting and hopeless consumption that is very affecting, when death hath set its irrevocable seal upon the patient, and the trouble within gives the assured token to himself that he is fast hastening to his grave. The visible accompaniments of such a scene are all of them familiar to you. The difficult respiration, the gathering hue of pale and languid sickness, the moistened forehead, the gradual sinking of the voice till the mind and memory of the sufferer can only be drawn from signs and looks, and almost inaudible whispers, the now shrunk and withered arm that one little year ago was braced with all the vigour of manhood, the fitful and broken slumbers, the now capricious appetite that is ever shifting its demands for some object of strong but unnatural craving—these are all familiar to you ;—and so are the many other speaking and significant tokens that the room you have entered is the apartment of a dying man. The air of seriousness that sits upon every countenance—the soft and gentle approach of some inquiring neighbour—the unsuccessful endeavour of the nearest and dearest of the relatives to hide the tears which she cannot suppress—the sad and settled conviction over the group of visitors that all must be soon over—these are the workings of nature, and they are all of them familiar to you. But the secret workings of grace in the soul are not so familiar, for they are indeed far less frequent ; the earnest and practical direction of a heart set upon eternity, the deep engagement of a mind now weaned from life, and even regardless of its last sufferings and struggle, while busying itself with the realities of faith ; the hesitations, and the inquiries, and the many fruitless efforts of unbelief, till the light of the Spirit's demonstration bears them all away, and the weary soul can now take his secure and steadfast hold upon the sacrifice ; the triumph wherewith, when now standing on the confines of the two worlds, he looks onward to the coming immortality, and the noble testimony that he leaves behind him—these are not so familiar, and therefore the more precious and memorable when they are realized. And there did occur one cheering example of it with one of the very humblest children of labour and poverty among yourselves, whose simple story is, that he sickened, and died, and left an only child to the guardianship of a widowed mother, and of homely literature as his was, inscribed to him on the blank leaf of his Bible a few verses, which, as the effusions of a dying father whose spirit had but recently undergone a transformation that meetened it for heaven, has in it more of a true and a touching pathos than the most elaborate poetry.

'To thee, my son, I give this Book,
In hopes that thou wilt from it find
A Father and a Comforter,
When I do leave thee here behind.

'I hope that thou wilt firm believe
That Jesus Christ alone can save—
He bled and suffered in our stead,
To save from death Himself he gave.

'A strong desire I now do crave
Of them to whom thy charge is given,
To bring thee up to fear the Lord,
That we may meet at last in Heaven.'*

This, doubtless, is but one example, yet enough to prove how worthy of Christian cultivation are those vast and untrodden spaces that teem with families who are altogether beyond the pale of the word and of ordinances—enough to prove that there is not an aggregate of human beings through which a minister of the gospel might not ply his unwearied rounds, and earn the triumphs of a high and heavenly apostleship—enough to set at rest the obstinate incredulity of those who affirm of the cities of our land, that such is their hard favoured and impracticable resistance to all the endeavours, whether of kindness or of Christianity, as to give the visionary character of a dream to the dear and delightful prospect of their ultimate reformation. I speak to the very poorest of my hearers: to you also belong the high capacities of an immortal spirit; to you belong all the elements of moral worth and moral greatness;

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* These lines, with the date 11th June 1823, and the addition, "I am your very sincere affectionate father, John Hastie," were found after Dr. Chalmers's death in one of his repositories where nothing but papers on which he put the utmost value were deposited. The lines were in Dr. Chalmers's own hand-writing on a small slip of paper, and below them he had added—"This from a common weaver in Marlborough Street, inscribed on a Bible to his only child. He had been an infidel till within a few months of his death."

to you the path of glory is open, and the exalted High Priest, who once sojourned in this world amid pains, and privations, and indignities more severe than all that any disciple of His is ever doomed to encounter, He from the golden treasury of those gifts and graces wherewith He is invested is ready even now to shower upon you everything that is needful either to bless you in time or to fit you for eternity. I can vouch for the comfort wherewith a minister of the gospel might move from family to family throughout the vicinities of this immediate population. I can vouch for the perfect graciousness of a kind and honest welcome from you all. I can vouch for the open door of access that there is in every house to the visitations of Christian philanthropy; and that even in towns which are conceived to teem all over with loathsome dissipation and profligate companionship, there is a most warm and willing response to the familiar converse and the domestic services of the minister. May he who labours within these walls be enabled to verify this by his own personal experience. May the countenance of heaven rest upon all his ministrations, and while engaged in the Sabbath exercises of piety, or in the weekday intercourse with your families, may a blessing from on high attend every footstep of his progress in the midst of you. Meanwhile I will take leave of you. No breaking up of my official relationship will lessen that close and affecting relationship which I shall ever feel towards your families. If God be pleased to spare me there is no house where I would more willingly resume for a season the ministrations of the word of life, no portion of the great vineyard of Christ in which I shall ever feel a more peculiar interest and property than that which is attached to it. May the blessing of God rest upon you all. May parents have great comfort of their children; and may children brought up in the ways of piety rise around their parents and call them blessed. Above all, may you be found in that way of pleasantness and path of peace which leads to heaven. A few years more and the storms of this changing life shall all have blown over us. Let our prayers often meet in the upper sanctuary; and when the morn of the resurrection cometh may we be found side by side at the right hand of our Judge and Saviour."

While the narrative of the Camlachie weaver's deathbed was given, and as the verses which he had written were read, Dr. Chalmers's hearers were melted into tears. The whole however of the affecting story had not been told. This man had been the only son of a pious mother, who was a widow. In his boyhood he had been apprenticed to a master who was an infidel, and who, with about twenty men under him, had sown so sedulously his own principles among them, that every one of them had been seduced into unbelief. Among the rest this unprotected widow's son fell a victim to his arts, and when his mother saw him married to his master's daughter, who was as bold an unbeliever as her father, and when she heard him blaspheme that holy name in which she trusted, it was too much for her to bear—deprived of reason she died in an asylum for lunatics. In the course of years, and when his own only child was grown up, consumption seized upon him. The near look at eternity, and perhaps the remembrance of his mother's instructions and prayers, threw him into spiritual distress. A minister was sent for, who attempted to reason with him, but he "was too deep," and the wound remained unhealed. It so happened that he was living at this time in the district of St. John's parish assigned to Mr. John Wilson, one of the most valued and beloved of Dr. Chalmers's elders, who soon brought his minister to see the dying man. The simplicity, the earnestness, the sympathy displayed by Dr. Chalmers, won the man's confidence, and it was not long till he related the history of his unbelief. Weekly, during nearly three months, Dr.

Chalmers's visits were repeated. The instructions given and the prayers offered at that bedside were blessed: a sinner was turned from the error of his ways, and a soul was saved from death. Very shortly before his death Dr. Chalmers visited this man. Both felt that the interview was to be the last. "Doctor," said he, lifting his Bible off the bed on which it lay, "will you take this book from me as a token of my inexpressible gratitude." "No, Sir," said Dr. Chalmers after a moment's hesitation; "No, Sir, that is far too precious a legacy to be put past your own son—give it to your boy." The dying man obeyed his instructor's last advice. He gathered up his remaining strength of body and mind; asking for a pen he wrote the lines which Dr. Chalmers quoted, and having written them, laid his head back upon his pillow and expired.

A few months after his settlement in Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers had wept over the grave of his beloved friend Thomas Smith, and a few weeks previous to his departure from Glasgow he stood by the deathbed of this converted weaver. He saw the first and the last fruits of his Glasgow ministry seized by the hand of death, while ripening under the eye of the earthly husbandman, and laid up in the heavenly garner. But who could tell him of the numbers who, during the course of these eight years, and under that ministry, had been savingly impressed by Divine truth? We know of the thoughtless young officer, who flaunting in idle vacancy through the city streets on a Sabbath forenoon, and attracted by the eager crowds which he saw pouring into the Tron Church, turned into that church as he would have done into a theatre, but found it to be indeed the house of God—to him the very gate to heaven. We know of the fashionable lady, full of taste and high refinement, but devoid of all earnest thought or care about her immortal soul, driving from her mansion in a neighbouring county to be regaled by the eloquence of the celebrated orator, but found of Him whom she sought not, and turned effectually unto God. We know of the busy bustling merchant, immersed in all the calculations of this world's traffic, lifted to the sublimer calculations of eternity, and from the very whirl of this world's most powerful engrossments won over to a life of faith and devoted philanthropy. We know of the aspiring student, sent by thoughtless parents to college to prepare for the Christian ministry—inflamed by literary ambition, but dead in heart to the love of Christ, awakened as from a trance, and made to feel the true nature of that office into which he had been heedlessly rushing, ushered into it fired with the fresh fervours of the all-constraining love. Of these we cannot speak more particularly, nor can we offer any estimate of the number of those whose first religious impressions are traceable to the same earthly source, but we may be permitted to express the opinion, that with all the transient and tumultuous excitement of its mere pulpit oratory, there has rarely been a ministry of equal length as largely blessed of the Divine Spirit to the conversion of individual souls. The more general effects of that ministry in its bearings upon the religious condition of Glasgow and of Scotland, lie open enough to observation. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, by the great body of the upper classes of society evangelical doctrines were nauseated and despised: when he left it, even by those who did not bow to their influence, these doctrines were acknowledged to be indeed the very doctrines of the Bible. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the eye of the multitude evangelism stood confounded with a drivelling sanctimoniousness or a sour-minded asceticism: when he left it, from all such false associations the Christianity of the New Testament stood clearly and nobly redeemed. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, for nearly a century the Magistrates and Town-Council had exercised the city patronage in a spirit determinately anti-evangelical: when he left it, so complete was the revolution which had been effected, that from that time forward none but evangelical clergymen were appointed by the city patrons. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, there and elsewhere over Scotland there were many most devoted clergymen of the Establishment who had given themselves up wholly to the ministry of the word and to prayer, but there was not one in whose faith and practice weekday ministrations had the place or power which he assigned to them : when he left it, he had exhibited such a model of fidelity, diligence, and activity, in all departments of ministerial labour, as told finally upon the spirit and practice of the whole ministry of Scotland. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, unnoticed thousands of the city population were sinking into ignorance, infidelity, and vice, and his eye was the first in this country to foresee to what a fearful magnitude that evil, if suffered to grow on unchecked, would rise : when he left it, his ministry in that city remained behind him a permanent warning to a nation which has been but slow to learn that the greatest of all questions, both for statesmen and for churchmen, is the condition of those untaught and degraded thousands who swarm now around the base of the social edifice, and whose brawny arms may yet grasp its pillars to shake or to destroy. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the literary circles of the Scottish metropolis a thinly disguised infidelity sat on the seats of greatest influence, and smiled or scoffed at a vital energetic faith in the great and distinctive truths of revelation, while widely over his native land the spirit of a frigid indifference to religion prevailed : when he left it the current of public sentiment had begun to set in a contrary direction, and although it took many years, and the labour of many other hands to carry that healthful change onward to maturity, yet I believe that it is not overestimating it to say, that it was mainly by Dr. Chalmers's ministry in Glasgow—

by his efforts at this period in the pulpit and through the press—that the tide of national opinion and sentiment was turned.

And if Glasgow was honoured in numbering Dr. Chalmers so long among her citizens, and in having been the sphere in which labours so eminently useful had been prosecuted, she proved herself not unworthy of the privilege. From her official men he always received the most courteous treatment, and to their kindness he was indebted for the facilities afforded him in carrying his plans into execution. Her citizens vied with one another in all kindly recognitions of one of whom all were proud, while among the narrower circle of his own congregation many personal attachments were formed, purer, deeper, and more lasting than any afterwards created during a long life time of affectionate intercourse with his fellow-men. Never was Dr. Chalmers surrounded by a band of truer or warmer-hearted friends than were numbered among the three hundred and forty gentlemen who, on the Tuesday after his farewell discourses were delivered, sat down together at the largest dinner-party that had ever assembled in Glasgow in honour of any single individual. Whig and Tory, clergymen and laymen, churchmen and dissenters, joined in friendly concert to bestow upon him this parting memorial of their regard. In the course of that happy and harmonious evening he was not unsuccessful in conveying to those around him how much and how deeply he was gratified.* Having at last intimated to the Lord Provost, who was in the chair, his wish to retire, his Lordship suggested that as a final mark of respect to their honoured guest, the company should all stand up as he withdrew. This closing and unexpected token of their good-will quite overcame Dr. Chalmers. Bowing repeatedly to all quarters, he could only say as he withdrew, " I cannot utter a hundredth part of what I feel, but I will do better, I will bear it all away. Gentlemen, farewell."

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* For his speech delivered upon this occasion, see Appendix O.

On the day after this farewell dinner, (Wednesday the 12th,) Dr. Chalmers left Glasgow for Fifeshire, and in the course of the same day was followed by Charles S. Parker, Esq., James Ewing, Esq., James Dennistoun, Esq., and Robert Dalgleish, Esq. On Thursday they all met together in Kirkaldy at the house of Mr. Walter Fergus, and on Friday morning the whole party proceeded together to St. Andrews, where, in the University Hall, and in presence of the Principals, Professors, and students, Dr. Chalmers was formally installed in his new office. It had been announced that the Introductory Lecture of his course would be delivered on Monday the 17th. In accordance however with Dr. Chalmers's desire—a desire grounded on his wish to gratify the friends who had accompanied him from Glasgow—it was delivered on the day which immediately succeeded his induction. Short as was the notice, the Hall of the University Library was crowded to excess, nor were the hopes of any disappointed as the eloquent Professor closed his lecture in these words:—

" Nearly up to the present moment have I been engrossed with other cares, and, as if newly escaped from a hurricane, do I feel myself cast upon the shore of a territory difficult both of penetration and progress, though not altogether unknown. It may be thought, that ere I set forth on so important an expedition, I should have spent an interval both of preparation and repose; and I should have thought so too, had I believed that by this rapid transference of myself from the labours of one profession to those of another, I would do an injury to any of my regular pupils, or at all hurt the great interests of their scholarship. But it has long been my sentiment, that for the objects of practical education, there should be much of the free and the colloquial intermingled with the formally and severely elaborate on the part of a master—that in this way alone the juvenile mind can be grappled with, and even at close quarters, and a ready adaptation be made to such existing difficulties in its way as can only be ascertained at the time by a conversational or questionary process. I have, therefore, in the full purpose of largely intermingling an extemporaneous treatment of my subject to the class with the more formal preparations of my solitude, not been deterred by the magnitude of the undertaking that is before me. Even its novelty has not thrown me into despair; for I honestly believe that it might be for the good of every unpractised hearer, when, instead of following his guide as he makes an easy promenade on the course that he has already smoothed, and over which he has, and perhaps often, conducted successive parties of travellers—when, instead of this, he has to pioneer his own way through its yet untried difficulties, when he has to share all the hazards, and, at the same time, on the moment of embarking, feels all the life and freshness of an enterprise; and the head adventurer himself looks around on a youthful but devoted band, and can gather from the countenances of all that even now they have resolved to share in his own labours, and been animated to a sympathy with his own daring.

"At present I will expatiate no more, save to deliver one short tribute of grateful acknowledgment to that Alma Mater with whom are linked my tenderest associations, who hath been pleased to call, from a long and fatiguing wander, one of the unworthiest of her sons—to whom, at the moment when he was on the eve of sinking under a pressure by which he was well-nigh overborne, she opened the gate of welcome, and found for him a retreat and a resting-place within her walls. I never thought that on this side of time I should have been permitted to wander in arbours so desirable, and that thus embowered among my most delicious recollections, I should have realized in living and actual history the imagery of other days—that the playfellows of my youth should thus become the associates of my manhood, or that the light-hearted companions of a season that has long passed away, should, by the movements of a mysterious but, I trust, kind Providence, stand side by side as colleagues in the work of presiding over the studies of another generation."

In the afternoon of the day on which this lecture was delivered, Dr. Chalmers's friends from Glasgow entertained at dinner the two Principals, all the Professors of the University, the ministers of the city, and a number of gentlemen from the neighbourhood.—So gracefully did Glasgow surrender to St Andrews what St. Andrews had originally bestowed.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.—P. 16.

" I REJOICED yesterday to observe the advertisement of your 'Address' in the newspaper; after I read it I ran over to Whyte's for a copy. I devoured it with avidity; but dare I say to one whom I so much esteem and for whom I cherish so much affection, that I was perplexed and uneasy in reading more parts than one? Will you impute it to want of candour, to narrow views, to imperfect attention to your address, to slavish adherence to a system, if I express my fears and doubts and apprehensions regarding it?" So wrote Dr. Charles Stuart, following up the sentence now quoted by a lengthened but affectionate critique. The Edinburgh post of a few days later brought the following letter from Dr. Chalmers's livelier correspondent, Dr. Jones:—" I thank you, my dear Sir, for your 'Kilmany Address,' which I have read with much care and pleasure. It exactly agrees with my views of the subject, and a most useful and important subject it is, and your statement of it is lucid and impressive. It has certainly been useful to me, and I doubt not it will be so to many and to all who read it with unprejudiced minds. Mr. Burke, about the year 1793, considered there were in Britain 20,000 incurable Jacobins. How many incurable orthodox there may be at present I know not, but certainly I know that the affectation of orthodoxy of some ministers upon the point discussed in the 'Address,' and a desire to appear mighty consistent and accurate and profound upon it, has made them conceited, proud, arrogant, dogmatical, censorious, consequential, cold, dry, lukewarm, and useless; and among the people this species of orthodoxy has made some of them dark, distressed, desponding, lifeless, inactive, and waiting, like Horace's fool, till the waters of iniquity run by.

> ' Vivendi recte prorogat horam,
> Rusticus expectat dum defluit amnis ; at ille
> Labitur et labetur in omne volubile ævum.'

Others of them it has made careless, presumptuous, and both theoretical and practical Antinomians. This subject was much controverted from fifty to sixty years ago by your hair-splitting, skeleton and preparation-making anatomical divines under the questions—Was faith a duty ?—Should the unconverted be addressed and required to believe ? In short, it was from this spring, by those who maintained the negative, flowed our stiff supralapsarian and absolute reprobative Independents and Anabaptists in England, and your Glassites and Sandemanians of Scotland, with all the innumerable flights of locusts which proceeding from them have darkened the heavens of the Church for these last fifty or sixty years. Verily, you are not a bold man merely, but a very daring one, with your eyes open and knowing what you are about, to thrust your hand into the viper's nest, and rouse them from their sleep as coolly as if it had been into a nest of doves. You have wilfully provoked this drowsy generation. Already they begin to hiss, and, be assured, they will bite if they can, and fasten on your hand. *N'importe* —you will unhurt shake them off into the fire, and perhaps they will not be able to wriggle out of the embers without a skotched skin. With this article several of our most celebrated and learned rabbis have made broad their phylacteries, and are you to deprive them of them with impunity ? With the fine silk from this spider's web they have woven a most curious and splendid seamless covering for themselves—a covering in their eyes more gorgeous than any worn by Solomon in all his glory ; and are you, unrebuked, to be allowed to put forth a sacrilegious hand, and soil and rend and tear and destroy as you *woll ?* These Philistines are up, and sharpening their long neglected and rusty gullies, and, depend on it, they will shortly be upon you. Had you need of aid, which you have not, I would tender my services, but Samson wanted no help to carry away the gates of Gath. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit.*—The sword of truth is two-edged, and cuts the perverter to the very quick, but only separates the perverted from error. Such a sword is the ' Kilmany Address,' and I trust that in both ways it may do much execution."

It was not to such kindly critics as Dr. Stuart that Dr. Jones alluded, but his apprehensions as to the fate which awaited Dr. Chalmers were not long of being fulfilled. The gentler remonstrances of the " Christian Instructor" * were followed up by two more lengthened and formidable attacks, the first contained in a strong but temperate pamphlet, entitled " Faith and

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* See the Number for December 1815.

Works contrasted and reconciled, in Six Letters to a Christian Friend ; containing Remarks on a late Address by Dr. Chalmers, and other Sentiments relative to the Doctrine of Grace," &c. By William Braidwood. 8vo, pp. 87. Glasgow, 1816.—The second in a pamphlet entitled "The Faith and Hope of the Gospel Vindicated : A Letter to a Friend in Glasgow, containing Brief Remarks on Dr. Chalmers's late Address to the Inhabitants of Kilmany." By John Walker.* 12mo, pp. 24. Glasgow, 1816.—That Dr. Jones's description was not overcharged, the reader will perhaps be convinced after perusing the following extract from Mr. Walker's pages :—"From my knowledge, indeed, of the unscriptural nature of the writer's profession and connexion—his *clerical* profession, and his connexion with a politico-religious body—I was prepared to meet with much that would be censurable, but I was also prepared to make great allowances, to hail joyfully all the appearances of a mind enlightened to see the glory of the divine truth, and to regard many passages and sentiments of a different complexion as but some of the remaining chaff which I might expect the fire of the word progressively to consume. I am sorry to say that an attentive perusal of the pamphlet forces me to discard these sanguine imaginations. I must still, indeed, view the writer with the same hope of which every sinner is the object, as one who may yet be brought to the knowledge of the truth, but I cannot longer conceive of him as at present discerning it. The great body of his pamphlet is in direct and unequivocal opposition to it. But I am still more painfully struck with observing, that even when he aims at being most evangelical, the real glory of the gospel (as a divine revelation of mercy and salvation to the lost) appears out of his view, and he seems with many to prize it chiefly as a convenient instrument for producing some imaginary reformation in the heart and life of a sinner. * * * If ever Dr. Chalmers be himself brought to the knowledge of that truth which he now opposes, he will see that he has been hitherto a blind leader of the blind, and that all those supposed earnest desires after the Saviour, which he thinks so hopeful symptoms in himself and others like him, have been but earnest desires after the vain imaginations of their own ungodly minds, and not after the Christ of God. * * * But can we wonder at the difference of their (the Apostles') exhortations and the Doctor's when we recollect that the Apostles were shepherds of the flock of Christ, but that Dr. Chalmers avows himself a *goatherd*, training into what he considers as Christianity those whom he does not yet consider as children of God, addressing his religious exhortations not to the Christians of his quondam parish, but to all its inhabitants, towards all of whom he stood in relation of a pastor. He does indeed speak of them all as partakers of the same faith with himself, and it is very probable that in this he speaks truth."

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* The well-known Mr. Walker of Dublin.

After exposure to such assaults, it is not to be wondered at that Dr. Chalmers should have become somewhat shyer and more timid of exposure than he was reckoned to be by Dr. Jones. "I have heard," says one of his old Glasgow friends and coadjutors, Mr. Kettle, "the following anecdote, which shows how readily he could coin a phrase to carry his meaning. About the time he came to Glasgow he happened to spend a night in Edinburgh. His 'Kilmany Address' had been recently published, and had excited great speculation among the religious reading public, and drawn forth no little censure from many of the defenders of orthodoxy. Some of his friends were very anxious to get him to Dr. Colquhoun's weekly *conversazione*, and on his refusal, and being pressed for a reason, he said, that were he to go he 'would get the whole contents of their theological spit-box discharged upon him.'"

APPENDIX B.—P. 61.

For the funeral of one so inexpressibly dear to him, and at which he knew that many of tastes and pursuits very different from those of the departed would be present, Dr. Chalmers drew up and delivered the following impressive prayer :—

"We desire, O Lord, to submit without a murmur to the whole of Thy will concerning us—to bow in silence under all the exercises of that sovereignty which belongs to Thee—to be enabled to say that this is of the Lord, and He hath done what seemeth unto Him good ; and though Thy ways to us are full of mystery, and we cannot comprehend them, yet we are sure that there is wisdom in all Thy doings, and kindness in all Thy visitations.

"Grant, O Lord, to each and to all of us, that we make a right improvement of this dark and heavy dispensation ; and while our hearts are softened in all the tenderness of afflicted nature before Thee, do Thou engrave upon them the permanent lessons of truth and justice and substantial piety. We have often in time past had experience of the exceeding frailty of all our purposes. We have often felt how momentary were all our impressions of the awfulness and the melancholy of death—how speedily they were put to flight when we turned us aside to business or to amusement, and that however much we were touched and solemnized by a moving occasion like the present, it was all forgotten when we again mingled in this world's concerns and in this world's companies. Oh ! may Thy Spirit come down upon us now and fix every good impression that is to be gathered from our visit to this house of mourning. May we learn from this time forward no longer to build our tabernacle here—no longer to look for a resting-place among the promises and the expectations of time—no longer to put death at a distance from us—no longer to defer the urgent work of a preparation for eternity—no longer to bury all the seriousness of our thoughts and of our feelings among the folly or the profligacy or the impiety of careless and light-hearted acquaintances. Oh! may he who is dead yet speak to us. Do, through him, make Thy rebuking glance light with impressiveness and with power on the hearts of the rebellious. Do Thou arrest them in the midst of their ungodly career. May the early departure of him who has gone before us tell with all the energy of a warning upon their consciences ; and save them, O Lord, from the delusion, that it is yet time enough to repent and to be serious and to bid adieu to their violations of principle and of purity ere they die. Give us to understand that every day spent in the service of sin makes us more helplessly and more irrecoverably the slaves of it. Give us to understand that every deed of wickedness we commit is just adding another chain to the tyranny of habit. Give us to understand that every warning we put away from us is sheathing our hearts in a more hardened and impenetrable obstinacy ; and with the whole weight of these considerations upon us, grant, grant, Almighty Father, that to-day, while it is called to-day, we may make haste to keep Thy commandments, seeing 'that now only is our accepted time, and now is the day of our salvation.'

" O come down with the whole power of Thy rich and precious consolations on the hearts of this family. We bless Thee that though Thou hast filled them with sorrow, Thou hast given them such reason as they have to sorrow not even as others which have no hope. We bless Thee, O Lord, at the remembrance of all Thy grace in behalf of him whom Thou hast thought fit to remove from us. We bless Thee for his obedience to the faith of Thy gospel. We bless Thee for the rising virtues which adorned him. We bless Thee for the brightening progress of his example. We bless Thee for the whole work of Thy Spirit upon his heart and upon his conscience. We bless Thee for his simple and entire dependence on a crucified Saviour. We bless Thee that while he was in the world Thou didst keep him by the power of Thy divine grace from the evil of it, and that in Thy gracious dealings with his spirit Thou didst pour all the radiance of faith and hope and triumphant anticipation over his deathbed.

"Oh! may we retire from this moving scene with hearts bettered, with minds resolved to forsake all for Christ, with affections weaned from this world and all its lying vanities; and grant that one and all of us who are here before Thee may so walk, and so live, and so abound in those fruits of righteousness which are by Jesus Christ to Thy praise and to Thy glory, that when we come to die and to rise again we may be found side by side at the right hand of Thine everlasting throne."

APPENDIX C.—P. 65.

"I have heard it said by some, that had the Act of Assembly 1814 confined itself to a simple declaratory law on the subject of double livings, it would not have been open to the agitation which has been started against it in different quarters: and that it would have been no infringement on the Barrier Act had there been no enactive clauses introduced into that deed of the Assembly. Now, it is true that all that is enactive relates to mere circumstantials, by which it is provided that such and such declarations shall be read before presbyteries by entrants about the offices they may at present have, and their promise to resign these offices; but I do think that this ought not to be construed into any infringement on the Barrier Act at all. The deed of 1814 is mainly and substantially a declaration of the law of residence, and that that law is violated by the holding of an office which subjects a clergyman to the necessity of, at stated periods, being absent from his parish. Perhaps such a declaration, unaccompanied by any subordinate enactment whatever, might have been a sufficient defence against the obvious evil; but still these clauses might not amount to an error of such magnitude in the construction of the Act of 1814, as to justify the exertions which are now making to set it aside; and I do most heartily regret that any fancied difficulty of this kind should lie in the way of an object so beneficial to the Church as the abolition of the pluralities in question, or even that the benefit should be suspended for so much as a single twelvemonth on the attempts that are now stirring to bring forward another Act against these pluralities in a more regular and unexceptionable form.

"It is universally granted, that though this Court has not the right of enactment, it has the right of interpretation; that though it cannot make the law, it can issue forth its understanding of the law in the shape of a declaratory act, and that such an act is binding on the practice of the inferior courts. Now, in the case before us, with the exception of a mere circumstantial regulation, there has, in truth, been no enactment whatever. There has been no framing of a new law, but simply the declaration of old ones; and while I am happy to observe that we are so little at a loss to find out a law already made to which we may subordinate the deed of 1814, that several distinct laws can be appealed to in which the union of professorships with country livings may be fairly brought within the scope of their prohibition, yet I should feel the utmost security as to that deed being perfectly right and constitutional had there been no other law which could be brought to bear upon this abuse than the law of residence, and could there have been no other check devised but a simple putting forth of the meaning and extent of the term residence.

"The spirit and design of every law on the subject of residence is that the minister may better attend to the duties of his calling; and surely, if the letter of the law is violated by his acceptance of an office which obliges him at stated times to be personally away from the scene of his ministerial labours, the spirit of the law is no less violated by his acceptance of an office where he does not make the duties for himself, but where the duties are already made for him—when he puts himself under another control than the control of his ecclesiastical superiors—when he saddles himself with two clashing responsibilities—when, in opposition to the enlightened principle of Dr. Adam Smith, who tells us in his chapter on the division of labour, that the more callings are kept separate and distinct from each other, the better are the duties of each attended to—the labour which should be divided among two is accumulated upon one, and we may rest assured, in consequence, that the duties of each are worse attended to. Why, Moderator, if there be a single old law, and there are several, which provides for the residence of the clergy, and with the express object, too, of securing a better and more efficient performance of the labours of their employment, all this alarm about the originating of new laws and the violation of the Barrier Act by the putting forth of new laws might have been dispensed with. There has, in fact, been no putting forth of new laws. The deed of 1814 has done no more than put a most simple and obvious interpretation on old ones. It tells us how the pluralities in question are in the face of certain laws; or, in other words, it takes up these laws, and declares the meaning and the extent of them. And the only understanding I ever had of this measure was, not that the Assembly added a single feature to the constitution of our Church, but merely that it pointed the eye of all inferior Courts to a feature which it had worn for centuries;—not that it annexed a single codicil to that wise and valuable testament which it is transmitting to future ages, but that it merely bestowed an authoritative explanation on one of its clauses—not that it took upon itself the incompetent exercise of framing a new enactment, but that it put forth its allowable privilege of interpreting an old one—not that it has graven a single lineament on the statute-book, but that it has only cleared away the mould and the oblivion of antiquity from a lineament that was already engraven on it by the hand of our forefathers.

"And I remember well, that what charmed me above everything into an acquiescence in the deed of 1814 was, that it came forth not in the shape of an enactment, but in the shape of a declaration. I know that on this very ground it was acceded to by a set of men who, I trust, are multiplying and gathering every year amongst us. Had it taken the shape of an enactment they could not have supported it, and just because it did not go far enough. It is easy to perceive that to frame a law against the union of professorships with country charges, is to stamp a tacit but a strongly implied legality on the union of these professorships with town charges. It is to draw a fence no doubt against an abuse of a very pernicious description; but it is hinting to us, and that pretty broadly too, that while it is all forbidden ground on the one side of the fence, it is all lawful and constitutional ground on the other side of it. Now the men to whom I allude were for carrying the fence to the very extremity of all that ground that was in any way questionable, and, as they knew that there was still an overbearing majority of sentiment against them, they were for wisely waiting the progress of a more congenial spirit in the Church ere they would embark in any partial scheme of reformation. They shrank from a measure which stopped short in the work of reformation, because they were afraid that it might go to legalize all that was beyond the limit of its operation; and the great beauty and wisdom of the deed of 1814 consisted in its laying to sleep the difficulties of this small but most respectable band of its supporters. It told them that the union of professorships with town charges was not meddled with, merely because it did not lie within the scope of the proposed declaratory act. The abolition of this union might be accomplished by the enactment of a new law, but it could not be accomplished by a simple definition of the law of residence. By declaring the extent of this law they legalized nothing. They brought the country charges within the sphere of a most pointed and decisive prohibition, and they did so by an act which pronounced nothing, either directly or indirectly, in the case of town charges. They were left out, not because any thought well of them, but because they could not be possibly brought into the bosom of a mere declaratory act on the subject of residence. Thus the case of the town charges was dexterously left untouched, and that too by a silence which carried no sanction and no approbation along with it ; and while the friends of a total reformation on the matter of pluralities voted for the deed of 1814, yet all their restraining scruples being cleared away from them, they left to some future Assembly the glory of bringing this great work of reformation to its entire and final accomplishment.

" This was their principle then for resisting an enactment, and giving their support to a declaratory law ; and this is our principle now for keeping by that declaratory law, and warding off the attempts that are now making to supersede it by an enactment. I know that some are for stripping the deed of 1814 of its clauses of regulation, and thus clearing away every shadow of an infringement on the Barrier Act. I by no means think this necessary, and should be sorry if these clauses were to stand in the way of a single vote that could help us forward to the great practical object of having the abuse put an end to. The deed of 1814, with or without those clauses, retains all the force and substance of such a declaration on the subject of residence as to lay an authoritative prohibition on the union of professorships with country charges. In this way a mighty object is accomplished, and the advantage that has thus been gained I would cling to, and not put it again to hazard for the sake of mere form ; I would not give up the substantial good we have gotten for any one of its dazzling insignificancies."

APPENDIX D.—P. 91.

It is curious to contrast the different judgments passed at the time upon this point :—

" Perhaps there are few minds accustomed to reflection and inquiry to which the plausible objection to the truth of Christianity, combated by Dr. Chalmers, may not at some period have suggested itself."—*Evangelical Magazine.*

" We must frankly confess that we do not remember to have ever had to encounter this argument against the Christian doctrine ; or if we have by chance heard an allusion to it, we have given it no heed on account of its apparent inconsistency."—*British Review.*

" We agree with Dr. Chalmers, that every objection against Christianity, however trivial, may and must be answered ; though perhaps it may be doubted whether the objection to which he has devoted his powers ever obtained a currency sufficient to render it deserving of so elaborate a refutation."—*Christian Observer.*

"It has, we know, been said by some, that Chalmers has in these noble 'Discourses' all along combated a phantom, and that those objections to the truth of Christianity have never been raised which it is their object to overthrow. On this very account are his 'Discourses' invaluable. The objections which he combats are not so much the clear, distinct and decided averments of infidelity, as they are the confused glimmering and disturbing fears and apprehensions of noble souls bewildered among the boundless magnificence of the universe. Perhaps there is no mind of any strength, no soul of any nobility, that has not often in the darkness of the night been beset by some of those majestic terrors—we may never have communicated them even to our dearest friends, for when they are gone they are unutterable—like the imagined shadows of ghosts, they come and go, silently and trackless ; but an awe is left in the haunted mansion of the soul ; and with all the deepest gratitude of a perturbed imagination we listen to the holy and the lofty voice which scares away the unhallowed visitants, and once more fills the midnight stillness with dreams of a peaceful and heavenly happiness. What although in the conversation of ordinary society no such thoughts ever find expression ? Low indeed and unimpassioned is the strain of feeling which man holds with man in the common intercourse of life. And how amid the trivial talk of amusement, or the intelligent discussion of affairs, or even the more dignified colloquy of philosophers, how could such emotions as we now speak of find utterance or sympathy ? How can there be any conducting atmosphere by which such mysterious thoughts might be conveyed from soul to soul ? But as there are fears and doubts and troubles and agitating aspirations too awful to bear the garb of ordinary words, so is there a Chalmers to meet them in all their dark array, and to turn them, during their hesitating allegiance or their open rebellion, into the service and beneath the banner of our God and our Redeemer."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 139.

The "Astronomical Discourses" found few such eloquent defenders as the writer of the preceding sentences. They were but little indebted to the periodical press for their popularity. They were unnoticed in either of the leading quarterly journals. The *Monthly Review* stained its pages by vulgar abuse. After quoting a passage from the volume, the reviewer thus proceeds :—"When the reader has taken time to peruse this passage, he will perhaps no longer wonder that the preacher, in his late visit to our metropolis, excited a burst of admiration, and occupied as much of the eager buzz in places of resort as if a new missionary of the gospel had actually arrived from the moon, to bring us news from other worlds and to strike infidelity dumb. Dr. Chalmers, however, should recollect, that the vacant stare of the thoughtless and the idle is no proof of superior powers in him at whom they gaze, and that the applause of the frivolous or the ignorant is usually coincident with the disapprobation of the reflective and the wise. * * * The unusual share of public attention which the 'Discourses' have accidentally attracted has induced us to allot more space to them than they would otherwise have merited or received; for we consider them as, on the whole, impotent in point of argument, and vicious in point of style. * * * The Doctor has acquired an ephemeral reputation, but it can be only ephemeral, at least in the southern part of our island, for it possesses none of the constituents of lasting fame. His mind is neither vigorous nor comprehensive; his sentiments are often grovelling and intolerant; and his diction never permanently attracts by real beauty, or nobly elevates by true sublimity."—*Monthly Review*, vol. lxxxiv. pp. 72, 73.

Besides the notices which appeared in the "Scots Magazine," the "Christian Instructor," the "Evangelical Magazine," "Blackwood's Magazine," the "Christian Observer," the "Eclectic Review," the "British Review," and the "Monthly Review," the "Astronomical Discourses" called forth two small volumes and a pamphlet bearing the following titles:—

"Plurality of Worlds; or, Some Remarks, Philosophical and Critical, in a Series of Letters to a Friend, occasioned by the late 'Discourses on the Christian Revelation viewed in Connexion with the Modern Astronomy,' as published by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers. London, 1817."

"Strictures on Dr. Chalmers's Discourses on Astronomy; shewing his Astronomical and Theological Views irreconcilable to each other, and that in his attempt to Harmonize the Doctrine of Scripture and Astronomy, instead of silencing the Infidel, he has given fresh ground for cavil. By John Overton. 1817."

"An Examination of some of the Astronomical and Theological Opinions of Dr. Chalmers, as exhibited in a series of 'Discourses on the Christian Revelation viewed in Connexion with the Modern Astronomy;' with some Remarks on the History of Pulpit Eloquence in Scotland. By a Scottish Presbyter. 8vo, pp. 42. Edinburgh, 1818."

The rumour of the day attributed this pamphlet to Bishop Gleig of Stirling.

APPENDIX E.—P. 121.

"While I rejoice to observe the growing countenance which our Society is obtaining from clergymen, I count myself fortunate in having a motion put into my hands which has for its object a vote of acknowledgment to a layman for the important services he has rendered to the institution. It is well, and very well, that our clergy give the sanction of their testimony to this cause. Such is the influence of their opinion that should it be favourable, it gives an animation and an impulse and an activity to the whole system of our operations ; and should it be unfavourable, I have often had to witness how this damped the whole spirit and defeated the whole aim of a benevolent enterprise ; and certain it is, that I never was more powerfully impressed with the strong remaining hold which the ministers of the country have over the mass of its population, than on looking first at the languor and inefficiency of a Bible institution in a parish where the clergyman gave it a cold and ambiguous testimony, and then at the eagerness with which all the ranks and varieties of people in another parish marshalled round the cause when the clergyman either advocated it from the pulpit or bestowed upon its meetings the sanction of his personal attendance.

"But in spite of the vast importance of a cordial and approving clergy to the prosperity of this institution, I confess that my main anxiety in its behalf is, that it may be more upheld than it has hitherto been by the talent and the benevolence and the personal agency of our laymen. I should like to see a greater number of them taking a decided and an ostensible part in this work of Christian philanthropy. I should like to see them standing in the very front of this great undertaking. It is not enough that they take upon them the burden of all that management which is properly termed the business of the Society ; it is not enough that they contribute to it out of their substance ; it is not enough that they relieve us of the whole work of its pecuniary transactions. They should do further—what I know they are well able for—they should offer the contributions of their eloquence to the cause—they should shake all their encumbering diffidence away from them, and lift an audible testimony in the face of this assembled multitude—they should come intrepidly forth with the utterance of zeal and piety and every Christian sentiment—they should not leave the topic to be preached upon by clergymen, for their doing so will stamp a narrow professional air upon the whole business. I should like to see more of the style of laymen mingling itself, on this joyous occasion, with the cast and the phraseology of our order ; and I but speak the heart of every clergyman who now hears me when I state it as a change devoutly to be wished on the habits of society, that though at a meeting like the present not a single minister found time from his still higher avocations for the work of personal attendance, yet that all the interest of the meeting would be sustained, and all its sacredness would be preserved entire, and all the holy fervour which should animate its members would be kindled and kept alive, and all that stirring eloquence which has already done so much for the Bible cause would be perpetuated and prolonged by many whose voices are yet unheard, and whose names are yet unknown, among laymen who are abundantly to be found in the ranks of a cultivated and Christianized population.

" This our age is distinguished from every other by what I cannot find a more convenient phrase for than the *public spirit of Christianity.* I am afraid I could specify some of the past generations of the world even in modern times, when there was fully a greater quantity of private and personal religion—when a greater number of men busied themselves in the retirement of the closet, and in the retirement of their own hearts—when the work of prayer and the work of sanctification were more assiduously prosecuted—when there was a closer and a holier walk with God, a higher tone of devotedness to His will, a stricter habit of watchfulness and of self-examination, a more studious separation from all that is polluting in the conformities of the world, and a firmer barrier of defence and of discipline thrown around the virtue of families. But though the period to which I allude was the golden age of Christianity in England—and we, I fear, are miserably behind it in the attainments of individual faith and individual piety—yet there is one respect in which we take the lead of all who have gone before us since the days of the Apostles. We may not be so much engrossed with the intimate and the home concerns of our own personal Christianity, but we are doing more for the Christianity of others—we are casting a broader survey over the fields of Paganism—we are sending forth a more wakeful eye over the expanse of the habitable world—we are overlooking all the intervals of distance, and bringing the Christian Missionary into contact with the men of all countries and tribes and languages. There never was an age of the world in which a more effective machinery of conversion was, in the shape of schools and Bibles and missionaries, put into operation. There never was an age of the world in which the public eye was more arrested by the beauteous spectacle of Christianized villages forming every year among the wilds of Heathenism. There never was an age of the world in which so many of its potentates and rulers busied themselves with the religion of their people and the interests of general education. There never was an age of the world in which so great a number of Christian adventurers went to and fro upon the earth, or when Christians at home formed into such a wide and effective combination for the equipment of these adventurers. In one word, since the first age of our faith there is no one generation in which the spread and circulation of the gospel was ever so much upon the tapis, in which it made such a figure, or stood so prominently out in the general aspect of this world's history, when the stir, and the movement, and the active enthusiasm of friends, along with the contempt and the virulence of enemies, were brought so forward to the eye of the public ; or, to recur to my former expression, never was there an age like the present when the public spirit of Christianity actuated so many hearts, and drew out so many testimonies, and united so many denominations by the tie of one common and endearing sympathy, and rallied round the cause of its propagation such an assemblage of the men of all names and of all parties who were willing to lull their every difference to sleep in the sweet oblivion of Christian charity, and on such animating occasions as the present to pull down their every signal of hostility, and to cast their every badge of distinction away from them.

" I trust that I am not diverging from the object of my motion, which is a vote of acknowledgment to one clergyman and two laymen, for the important services they have rendered to our Society. In order fully to appreciate the services of the former we should think of the weight and variety of his other engagements, we should think of the numerous labours of his solitude, we should think of his daily range among the chambers of sickness and of death, we should think of that finish and solidity which belong to all his weekly preparations, and if anything more is necessary to enliven our gratitude to him to whom the Society is in a great measure indebted for its prosperity, if not for its existence, we should think of that more extensive round of usefulness which he has already taken, and which he still prosecutes in the walk of theological literature. In order to appreciate the services of the latter, I will not speak of the value of that time to themselves which they give to the work of our institution, for it so happens, however otherwise the public might think of the matter, that a single hour of a clergyman might, when brought to the scale of a correct estimate, be found of more value than a whole month spent in the duties of ordinary business. I will not speak of the teasing interruptions to which their office exposes them, for to interrupt by a single minute the penmanship of clerical studies is to inflict a deadlier mischief than to interrupt at all times of the day the penmanship of a chamber or of a counting-house. I will not speak of the distraction which this new and additional duty must lay upon their employment, for that is a far smaller distraction which puts to flight the thoughtfulness of him who is devising some moral or religious argument for the good of his hearers, than any distraction which puts to flight the thoughtfulness of him who is balancing in his own mind all the arguments of a mercantile speculation. I do feel the utmost gratitude to the lay office-bearers of this Society, but I think it right that I should explain the precise ground on which I would rest the acceptance of that motion which I have been honoured to take the charge of, and I trust I shall be pardoned for the trespass I have made upon your indulgence and your time, in having explained my reasons for not giving in to the too popular and prevailing notion that while laymen do a great deal by the visible surrender they make of their time and their attention to the business of a religious society, the same time and the same attention form no sacrifice whatever on the part of a clergyman.

" The thing which I chiefly rejoice in when I see laymen taking an ostensible part in the business of an institution which has for its object a Christian or a religious interest is, that it leads me to anticipate the day when we shall be able to devolve upon them the whole of this concern. I am sure that the public interest of Christianity would more grow and would more mightily prevail amongst us than it has ever yet done, if the public spirit of Christianity were, by its stirring influence on the hearts of laymen, to effectuate this desirable change in the management of our religious societies. The number of clergy is small, and why should either the number or the efficiency of Christian institutions be limited within the compass of their general agency ? Why should the countenance of their bodily presence be looked upon as so indispensable ? Why should the business of any meeting go languidly on for want of a minister to grace the assemblage ?—and how, I would ask, shall we explain the mystery of that superstitious and unaccountable charm which is conceived to reside in the mere matter of his appearance in the midst of them ? But suppose, Sir, that this infatuation were broken to pieces, and that laymen felt their own independent sufficiency for these things, and that they put forth all those talents of advocating, and of argumenting, and of speechifying, which if they only had the courage to begin, the experience of a single year would convince them that they possessed in fully as great perfection as we do. Just suppose, Sir, such a change in the fashion of this city that laymen exercised all that competency which belongs to them of superintending and carrying through the whole work of our religious and of our other charities, and then, Sir, only conceive with how mighty an enlargement the field of Christian beneficence would instantly spread itself. For the few units of clergy who are looked up to for their sanction, and without whom nobody will stir or put forth their hand to any one scheme of philanthropy, we should have as many hundreds of zealous enlightened laymen, animated by the living principle of being ready unto all good works, throwing a most respectable lustre around their own characters by the spirit and the liberality of their public services, giving an incalculable augmentation to the power and efficiency of all our existing institutions, devising new objects, and carrying them with such vigour and such promptitude into accomplishment, that not one corner in the mighty field of Christian benevolence should be left to lie uncultivated. Now as the matter stands at present there is many a neglected waste which ought to be fertilized by another and another well-directed stream from the opulence of this town. The Moravians are neglected ; the African Institution is neglected ; the Gaelic School Auxiliary is in a state of languishment and decay ; the Missionary Societies are but feebly and partially supported. And why?—because the whole responsibility of the matter is laid on the overburdened shoulders of a few clergy, who are left to bustle their fatiguing way through the work of one and all of these manifold institutions. I trust I have said nothing disrespectful or offensive to anybody. I am sure I do not intend it. I do not undervalue the exertions of those laymen who have actually come forward to the business of our societies, and rendered them the offering of their most welcome and most estimable services. I have spoken only to those who have not come forward ; and is it not clear as day that if a greater number could be prevailed upon, if the public spirit of Christianity could so seize and so interest their principles as to carry them forward to the full development of all the talents and of all the energies which belong to them, a wider glow of charity would spread itself over the face of this great and populous community, and a more vigilant guardianship be exercised over all the moral and religious wants of our species, and a mightier fund be raised for the purpose of relieving them. And even though it should ultimately tend to the retirement of the clergy altogether from the work of keeping this vast machinery a-going, they have a still higher and more important field of industry before them ; for, as I said, however much this age may have signalized itself by what I have chosen to term the public spirit of Christianity, we are miserably short in the private influence of its lesson on the hearts and the consciences of men. To aid and to strengthen this influence form a distinct and a peculiar province altogether, and should we be left our undivided time for cultivating this province by our ministrations from the pulpit, or our ministrations in private families, it would not follow that we should be left to languish for want of employment, or to eat the bread of idleness."

APPENDIX F.—P. 121.

" My first advice to you, Gentlemen, on entering the important and honourable office with which you have now been invested, is to feel the full impression of its sacredness. I am well aware that there is not a professing Christian who does not forfeit all title to the name and character of a Christian if he do not honestly and with all the energies of his soul aspire at being not merely almost but altogether a disciple of the Lord Jesus. It is the duty of the obscurest individual in our parish or in our congregation to be as heavenly in his desires, and as peculiar in the whole style of his behaviour, and as upright in his transactions, and as circumspect in his walk, and as devoted in heart and in service to the God of his redemption, as the minister who labours amongst them in word and in doctrine, or as the elders who assist him in the administration of ordinances, or as the most conspicuous among the office-bearers of that Church with which he is connected. But remember, my friends, that the very circumstance of being conspicuous forms a double call upon your attention to certain prescribed duties of the New Testament. It is this which gives so peculiar an importance to your example. It is this which by making your light seen before men renders it a more powerful instrument for the glorifying of God ; and it is this, too, which stamps a tenfold malignity upon your misconduct. And under the impression of this I cannot forbear urging upon you to be careful lest your good should be evil spoken of, to be in all things an example to the flock over which God hath appointed you the overseers, to remember that your conduct has now a more decided bearing upon others than it had formerly, and that as it is your duty to look not to your own things but to the things of others also, so it is your most solemn and imperious obligation to take heed and give no just offence in anything, that the religion of which you have now become the declared and the visible functionaries be not blamed.

" I know not how a greater outrage can be practised on Christianity —I know not how a deadlier wound can be given to its reputation and its interest in the world—I know not how a sorer infliction can be devised on a part of greater tenderness, than for a man to usurp a place of authority and of lofty standing in the Church of our Redeemer, and then to exhibit such a life, and to maintain such a lukewarm indifference, and to hold out such a conformity with the world as to all the levities and all the secularities which abound in it, and, above all, so to deform the path of his own personal history by what is profane and profligate and unseemly, that the report of his misdoings shall spread itself over the neighbourhood, and into whatever company it may enter, it shall scandalize the friends of Jesus, and become matter of triumph and of bitter derision to his enemies.

"But I hope better things of you, and things which accompany salvation, though I thus speak. I rejoice in your admission amongst our number. I feel a weight of personal gratitude upon my own heart for the kind and friendly acquiescence with which you have favoured me; and though I call it a weight, it is such a weight as causes no oppression and no painfulness along with it—a weight which I count it honourable to bear, and of which I can say with truth that I feel a pride and a pleasure in carrying it about with me.

"I have only two leading remarks to offer on the duties of that situation which you are now entering. They both relate to your intercourse with the people of the parish, and may be divided into the spiritual, which in my estimation form the primitive and the essential duties of the eldership, and into the temporal, which form the superinduced duties, and which have rather been accumulated upon the office by the custom and practice of the day—duties which, though essential in themselves, were originally devolved upon another set of office-bearers.

"As to the first set of duties, the first thing which occurs to me to say about them is to do nothing of constraint. I am well aware how widely the practice of our generation has diverged from the practice of our ancestors—how, within the limits of our Establishment, the lay office-bearers of the Church are fast renouncing the whole work of ministering from house to house in prayer and in exhortation and in the dispensation of spiritual comfort and advice among the sick or the disconsolate or the dying. On this subject I urge nothing upon you. I am aware that a reformation in this department can only be brought about by an influence of a more gentle and moral, and withal more effectual kind than that of authority; and I shall therefore only say that I know of almost nothing which would give me greater satisfaction than to see a connexion of this kind established between my elders and the population of those districts which are respectively assigned to them—that I know of nothing which would tell more effectually in the way of humanizing our families, than if so pure an intercourse were going on as an intercourse of piety between our men of reputable station on the one hand, and our men of labour and of poverty on the other,—I know of nothing which would serve more powerfully to bring and to harmonize into one firm system of social order the various classes of our community; I know not a finer exhibition, on the one hand, than the man of wealth acting the man of piety, and throwing the goodly adornment of Christian benevolence over the splendour of those civil distinctions which give a weight and a lustre to his name in society ; I know not a more wholesome influence, on the other, than that which such a man must carry around him when he enters the habitations of the peasantry, and dignifies by his visits the people who occupy them, and talks with them as the heirs of one hope and of one immortality, and cheers by the united power of religion and of sympathy the very humblest of misfortune's generation, and convinces them of a real and longing affection after their best interests, and leaves them with the impression that here at least is one man who is our friend, that here at least is one proof that we are not altogether destitute of consideration amongst our fellows, that here at least is one quarter on which our confidence may rest —ay, and amidst all the insignificance in which we lie buried from the observation of society, we are sure at least of one who, in the most exalted sense of the term, is ever ready to befriend us, and to look after us, and to care for us.

" Rest assured, Gentlemen, that you have an ample field for such exercise—a field so extensive, that if left to the solitary management of one individual, is left in a great measure neglected—a field greatly beyond the time and strength of your minister—a field which he is not able to cultivate to the full by his own personal exertions, and which he would therefore like to devolve upon others in the way of deputation ; and here it occurs to me to say, that such is my confidence in your judgment, that if delicacy or inexperience should for a time restrain you from entering upon your respective districts in the capacity of spiritual labourers, what is to hinder you from availing yourselves of deputation ?—what is to hinder you from calling into action the piety and the Christian intelligence of your neighbours ?—what is to hinder you from providing, in the person of others, for the homes of those who are under you the comforts and the warnings of religion ? I know that a good deal is done in this way by the piety of private Christians. It may not be official piety, but still if it is piety, I am sure that a right and salutary influence will spread itself among the streets of our city by the free and active circulation of it.

" I now come to the second set of duties—those which relate to the business of ministering temporal accommodation to the needy population of our parish. Though I think it were better that these should be devolved on another set of men entirely, I am yet far from denying the importance of them, and till those men be provided, I would press them on your most earnest and practical and affectionate attention. Next to the object of Christianizing our people, I know not another to which we can more usefully and more laudably direct our ambition, Gentlemen, than that of diminishing the amount of wretchedness that is among them, than that of alleviating their actual and of anticipating their eventual poverty, than that of combining the great object of an effectual relief with the other great object of sustaining the spirit and the industry of our people—in one word, I should like if we could exhibit the spectacle of a well-served and a well-satisfied parish, and at the same time could conduct our affairs so discreetly and so economically, and mix up our administration of the public funds with so many wise and well-directed exertions of private charity, that we outstripped all the parishes around us in the superior cheapness as well as in the superior efficacy of our management.

" I call upon you therefore, Gentlemen, to make a conscience of your attendance upon the needs and the demands of your respective populations —not to shun and superficialize the matter, but to give to it strength and earnestness and persevering inquiry—to lay your account with its being a burden, and to summon up a stock of patience and of hardihood for the bearing of it; not to enter upon your offices as if they were so many sinecures, but to feel that certain duties are annexed to them, and that for the right and attentive performance of these duties a weight of responsibility is now lying upon you. Sure I am that with the manageable extent of walk which will be assigned to each of you, you will at length come to feel that to be an enjoyment which you may perhaps for some time feel to be an oppression—that custom will soon reconcile you to your new employments—and that the more you methodize and attend to it now, the more speedily will you reduce it to a smooth and pleasing and easily practicable concern.

" I shall just venture on three distinct observations relative to this department of your services :—

" My first is, that the poor will feel themselves greatly soothed and conciliated by your ready attention, by your friendly counsel, by your acts of advice and assistance as to the conduct of their little affairs, by the mere civility and courteousness which mark your transactions with them, and that these will positively go further to gladden their hearts and to endear your person to them than all the money you may find it necessary to award for the support of their indigent families.

" My second remark is counterpart to my former one. It will be said, that by this unrestricted facility of manner you will lay yourselves open to the inroads of the worthless and the undeserving. In answer to this, I ask if there be not room enough in a man's character for the wisdom of the serpent along with the gentleness of the dove? That we may ward off the undeserving poor, is it necessary to put on a stern and repulsive front against all the poor who offer themselves to our observation? The way, I apprehend, is to put forth patience and attention, and to be in the ready attitude of prepared and immediate service for all cases and for all applications in the first instance; to conduct every examination with temper and kindness,—and surely it is possible to do this and at the same time to conduct it with vigilance. Exercise will soon sharpen your discrimination in these matters, and when you have got at a thoroughly ascertained state of the claim which has been advanced, and you find that it is not a valid one, then put forth your firmness, then make a display of calm and settled determination, then show your people that you have judgment as well as feeling, and that you know how to combine the habit of justice to the public by not squandering their money on unsuitable objects, with the habit of sympathy for genuine distress, and of ready attention to the merits of every application.

"On the strength of this second advice, Gentlemen, you will check, on the one hand, all unseasonable applications, and, on the other, you will still preserve all that homage of attachment which your kindness to real sufferers, and your candour and courteousness to all, are fitted to secure to you. Your people will not like you the worse that they see you acting in a sound, judicious, and experimental way with them. They know how to appreciate good sense as well as we, and they admire it, and they actually have a liking for it. They are scandalized when they see kindness lavished on the unworthy. Though they like attention and sympathy, they have a greater esteem for them when they see them conjoined with the wisdom of judgment and a good understanding; and in proportion as you evince yourselves to have the faculty of rejecting those claims which are groundless, in that very proportion will a real sufferer esteem that act of preference by which you have had the discernment to single out his claim, and the benevolence most soothingly and most sympathizingly and most amply to provide for it.

"I have just one remark more to submit to you. I know not a more interesting case that can be submitted to you in this way than when an applicant proposes for the first time to draw relief from a public charity. This he is often compelled to do from some temporary distress that hangs over his family; and if the emergency could be got over without a public and a degrading exposure of him who labours under it, there would both be a most substantial saving of the public fund and a most soothing act of kindness rendered to the person who is applying to you. I am very far from urging anything upon you. I merely throw this out as a hint and a suggestion. If by your own influence or that of your friends work could be provided for a man in such circumstances, or some private and delicate mode of relief be devised for him, then I know not in what other way you could more effectually establish yourselves as the most valuable servants of the public and as the best and kindest friends of your own immediate population. All will depend on the earnestness and the sense of duty which you bring to your offices along with you ; and while I feel nothing but confidence, and conceive nothing but the most favourable anticipations on this subject, I beg leave to conclude with expressing once more my sincere and hearty acknowledgments for the readiness with which you have stepped forward to assist and to relieve us."

APPENDIX G.—P. 128.

" I feel myself in the line of a most direct and pertinent application when I carry forward the general principles which I have now stated in your hearing to the much agitated question of Sabbath-schools. The object of these institutions is to make the young wise unto salvation through the medium of the word of God, and for this purpose to exercise their attention and their memory, and their understanding, and their every faculty which belongs to them, on the sacred volume of inspiration. You will at least allow that during the whole work of such an institution the right seed and the appropriate soil for the reception of it are brought in contact with each other, and the only thing wanted to complete the human part of the arrangement is a qualified agent for the purpose of depositing this seed. Now there is one class of objectors to this system who must find it quite impossible to allege in opposition to it the difficulty of finding such agents. They conceive, and they honestly conceive, it to be hurtful on the principle of its withdrawing the young from the moral and religious guardianship of their parents. Such an objection as this supposes the great mass of parents to be qualified for the Christian education of their families, and I most readily admit this to be the case in as far as the qualification of mere talent is concerned. Parents, generally speaking, labour under no natural disqualification for the effective training up of their offspring in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,—and why ? Just because, agreeably to all I have stated on this subject, every one of them may if he will have access to the Bible—every one of them may if he will have access to the Mediator, through whom the things of God may, through the medium of the Bible, be revealed to the understanding—every one of them may if he will have the benefit of the teaching of the Holy Ghost, and through prayer for wisdom as he stands in need of it, may obtain a plentiful supply of that wisdom in virtue of which he may win the souls of his family. With all this in my mind, I can have no doubt as to the general competency of parents for the Christian charge of their families, nor do I think that the land in which we dwell will ever become a land of righteousness till many a parent shall have reared in his own home the altar of piety, and shall have set up a school of instruction under the sanctuary of his own roof and within the retirement of his own walls.

"The objection I shall speak to shortly in a few minutes ; but I avail myself of the principle of the objection in order to establish the position that I am now labouring to impress upon you, how the work of Christian education is a work that may safely be confided to a far greater number of private Christians than may generally be conceived. Give me a plain scriptural and withal honest believer, and I say that the capabilities of such a man may be turned to the object of spreading scriptural knowledge, of disseminating pious impressions, of exciting around him the fermentation of a leaven for good in his neighbourhood—in one word, of multiplying his own likeness amongst the young with whom he is labouring ; nor am I at all afraid, that with piety as the principle of his heart, and the Bible as the text-book of his school, there may be given to the prayers and to the exertions of such a man a plentiful harvest of thriving and hopeful disciples amongst the children of the rising generation. Why, my brethren, I hear much of the danger of ignorant fanatics being let loose upon the neighbourhood, and how they may infect with the feelings of a pestilent enthusiasm a population who would be far better let alone, and how they may inundate our parishes with all the extravagances of Methodism, and how they may send a maddening impulse abroad over the land, and bring it back to those days of outrageous Christianity, when the ravings of visionaries were heard in so many conventicles, and everything smelt and tasted of all that was most offensive in Puritanism. This all bodes very formidably, my brethren ; but I confess that in the work of pursuing these distinct charges, and I have made a point of so doing, I have almost uniformly found that the charge of fanaticism has been most vehemently preferred against those men whose spirit and whose language came nearest to the spirit and the phraseology of the New Testament ; that to please the people who are alarmed at enthusiasm, you will not get the matter accommodated to their taste until you have rooted out of the neighbourhood every particle of affection for the cause of Christianity, and made every heart as cold as lead and as motionless as a stone ; that this said Methodism has, generally speaking, through every step of its progress, left behind it a more sober and loyal and moralized population ; and as to the madness and ravings of

Puritanism, not one other thing is necessary to bring down such an imputation than to become as like as possible in zeal and activity and strenuous exertion for the cause of the Redeemer to the Apostle Paul, of whom we read that he had this very imputation discharged upon him. Oh no, my brethren ! rest assured that all this activity that is now afloat in the country for the spread of a purer religion than at present exists in it is activity in the cause of truth and of soberness ; and the great thing I have dreaded in the present state of the public mind is not the intemperance of a reckless and unbridled fervour. What we have to encounter is the sluggishness of an immovable apathy to the highest of all interests and the noblest of all concerns. It is not from too much motion, but from a great deal too little that we are to look for danger ; and be assured that it holds true of the country at large which I am sure is most superlatively true of our immediate population, that the very reason why they are perishing by thousands, and why the very name and semblance of religion are unknown in so many of their families, is just because they are let alone, and because so few hands animated by the public spirit of Christianity are stretched forth to seek and to save them.

"And here I may briefly remark, that every species of legitimate defence should be thrown around the cause and the interest of Christianity. The main hazard to which she is exposed is from the natural indolence of the human mind, which leads so many to slumber in utter torpor and unconcern over the melancholy spectacle of an ignorant and rapidly unchristianizing population. Conceive this indifference to be overcome, and an agency to be set in action, and a movement to become visible in behalf of Christian education, there may be people who think, and who think honestly, that the cause of pure religion is endangered by its being laid open to the inroads of an undirected enthusiasm. For the reasons already mentioned I do not apprehend any serious mischief from this quarter at all. But it is right that a defence should be set up against every possibility of evil ; and I ask these people what better defence can they look to than the literature, and the sound attainments, and the comprehensive views, and the ever wakeful vigilance of those clergy who are suffered to give an undistracted attention to all the varieties of that moral field, which is enough, and more than enough, to take up the every thought and the every energy which belong to them.

"Let me now recur to the objection I have already adverted to as applied to the institution of Sabbath-schools,—that it detaches children from the moral and religious guardianship of their parents. I ask if the holders of this argument would turn it against the measure of an additional church in this the city of our habitation ? Now, the precise effect of this additional church would be to take families from their homes. It would be transferring in part the business of their instruction away from the natural guardians ; and yet, in spite of this circumstance, the men who send their offspring to the house of God are the very men to whom I would look for the most vigilant system of Christian superintendence in their own houses. And the men who do not send them are most assuredly not the men from whom we would rightly expect such a deep, such an ever-working and earnest concern, for the religion of their offspring, that they could not bear them out of their dwellings on the day which is set apart for the solemn exercises of religion, nor confide them to any management but the in-door management of a strict system of household regulation. Now, my brethren, it is right you should know, that in reference to one-half of the population of our city, such institutions as those we are now pleading for are the only substitutes they have it in their power to resort to in the room of additional churches. There is no other out-of-door instruction to which they can possibly send them. And while, in the mind of the objector, there exists the conception that this Sabbath-school hour is additional to a whole day of regular attendance on the ordinary means, the real state of the case is, that it is the only hour of the day on which a very large proportion of the young have a religious pretext for being away from under the eye and the guardianship of their parents.

" But, again, I have fully conceded to you, that in point of natural qualification there does exist among the generality of parents a sufficiency of talent, and if any of them will he may have a sufficiency of grace for bringing up his children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Now, though I have conceded to you the existence of the talent, I cannot, with my eye open to the real state of matters, concede to you the existence of the will. The practical merits of this question are very much to be decided by the existing state of practice and of disposition as to the work of family ministrations. Now, I aver, that in a very great number of instances they are abandoned altogether, and that not because Sabbath-schools have relieved parents of the feeling of that responsibility which belongs to them, but because they have positively no such feeling to give any agitation or disturbance to their consciences at all. The alternative with many children is not between the advantage of out-of-door and the advantage of within-door instruction : the alternative is between out-of-door instruction or none at all. The alternative is not between one species of instruction and another : the alternative is between one species of instruction and no instruction whatever. If the seed be not deposited in this particular way, then it is never deposited. And I do think, that in these circumstances it is giving up the efficacy of the word—it is saying that God may send it forth, and that it will return to him void—it is stamping an inefficacy upon the Bible, and withholding from it all that virtue which every true believer must assign to it, to hold that there is a way in which the knowledge of it may be given, (and that, too, you will observe, the only way in which it can be given in this particular instance,) and given with judgment, too,—for you have no right to assume in behalf of your argument an incompetent teacher; that there is a way in which prayers for its efficacy are lifted up, and lifted up with faith, too,—for you have no right to assume in behalf of your argument a dishonest or an unbelieving teacher; and yet that the deposition of the seed, and the exertions of the labourers, and the intercessions of a believing heart for the fruit of the labour—that all these expedients have been put in operation, and yet that in the face of Bible promises and Bible assurances, all have turned out to be an insignificant parade, without produce and without efficacy.

"But lastly, it strikes me that this said objection proceeds upon an entire miscalculation of human nature. You cannot state with arithmetical precision the number of parents who take no concern, and feel no responsibility whatever about their offspring, and who yet would allow them their hour of Sabbath education if the education were provided. But all such children may reap the most decisive good and get no harm from such institutions as we are now pleading for. Neither can we state with arithmetical precision the number of parents who have some conscience upon this subject, but that conscience so slender in its demands that it would be quieted by the simple act of sending their children to such a school, and then feel itself relieved from the burden of all further cognizance. But should there be any parent of this description, may it not be shrewdly suspected that with a conscience so slender all his household ministrations, when he had them, would be proportionally slender, and that the loss of these ministrations to the young may be amply made up by such a system of teaching as we have no right to suppose will be conducted in any other spirit than that of wisdom and piety. And lastly, we cannot state with arithmetical precision the number of parents who are in plain and honest earnest about the Christianity of their children. Should they judge it better to keep their families at home they will of course do so, and in reference to them there is neither good nor evil accruing from the institution in question. But for my own part, I can conceive an enlightened Christian father to judge and to act otherwise upon this question, to count it on the whole an advantage to his young that they attended this Bible seminary, and that just on the same principle that it is an advantage for them to attend the ministrations of a clergyman—to take the benefit of the out-of-door instruction, and feel at the same time as powerfully instigated as before to set up an active and exemplary system within the bosom of his family—to avail himself of the school, not as a substitute for his own exertions, but as a powerful accession to them.

"We may multiply the fancied hazard and probabilities at pleasure; but really, to speak experimentally on human nature, the effect of such an institution, if set up in any of the putrid lanes or winding intricacies of this our town, will not be to deaden the concern of parents about the religion of their children, but positively to stimulate them, to give them a taste and an interest in all their progress, to inspire a laudable satisfaction as they witness their growth in knowledge, and their diligence in the business of acquirement, and those progressive habits of order and sobriety and obedience which are ever associated with the influence of the Bible. There may be some small circumstantial evils attending this, as they attend every other system, and they may amount to some very humble fraction which ought to be deducted from the whole benefit of the concern. But I must confess, that all my anticipations are in favour of these arrangements. Nor have I any doubt that if well followed up, and ably administered, and industriously persevered in, and throughout pervaded by the all-powerful unction of piety and prayer, they will be found not to have withdrawn from a single Christian family the slightest portion of that wholesome superintendence which it was wont to enjoy, and to have discharged on many a family that was before graceless and depraved and unchristian, that very influence which will serve to beautify and to humanize it."

APPENDIX H.—P. 133.

A most affectionate Address from the Congregational Meeting, containing the offer of providing a regular assistant, was conveyed to Dr. Chalmers through William Roger, Esq., to whom the following reply was communicated :—

"Charlotte Street, *February* 18*th*, 1817.

"My Dear Sir,—I was very much touched and gratified by the Address which was read to me in your presence, and which you had the kindness to leave in my hands. I consider it as peculiarly valuable on two accounts; first, as an expression of approbation and regard on the part of my hearers;

and secondly, as a memorial of their deliberate sentiments on a subject which has long engaged and interested my own thoughts.

"The experience of every month confirms me in the opinion, that a minister of religion should be allowed to give all his time and all his strength to such objects as are strictly and substantially religious, and that the violation of this principle not only entails upon him a world of personal vexation and discomfort, but that it also goes to impair the effect both of his pulpit and parochial ministrations.

"Were I called upon to specify the one measure by which the people of a parish could contrive to throw the most inviting charm over the situation of their clergyman, I should say, by rendering such an homage to the importance of his employment, as to shield it from everything that can at all tend to harass or to disturb it, and permitting him to relieve the fatigue of study by varieties of his own choosing—by such varieties as he himself finds to be most congenial to his own taste and temper and sense of duty, and not by such varieties as custom or accident or arbitrary regulation may have accumulated upon his office for years, and perhaps for generations, before he had entered it.

"This charm has been lately held out to me, and that, too, for the purpose of drawing me away from a scene of duty which I count to be one of the most important within the limits of our National Establishment; and, I will frankly confess to you that I am not able to compute what might have been the extent of its influence, had I not been assured, both by my experience of your past services, and by the warmth and sincerity of your present professions, that you were willing to guard the office I now hold from all those intrusions by which its peace or its sanctity might be violated.

"I feel myself placed on high vantage-ground in declining all those personal services which have for their object the furtherance of civil and secular accommodation among my parishioners. You have empowered me to state what, I am sure, from the reason and liberality that characterize the functionaries of this city, they will find to be most abundantly satisfying, that the public agency which I withhold in my own person, I am willing to provide in a tenfold degree in the persons of others who have kindly undertaken to relieve me of every labour that is not strictly professional.

"I thank you most cordially for your kind recommendation and offer in respect of assistance, and only lament the necessity I am under to accept of it. I trust that it will not tempt me to remit my diligence in the business of my profession, and that its whole effect will be to secure both for my parishioners and my hearers the benefit of a more entire ministration.

" With sincere prayers for the comfort and usefulness of our future connexion, and an earnest request that you and the other Gentlemen with whom you are associated may give me a place in their intercessions at the throne of grace, I beg leave to subscribe myself, my dear Sir, your most affectionate friend, THOMAS CHALMERS."

APPENDIX I.—P. 214.

LETTER FROM DR. CHALMERS TO MR. EWING.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot transmit the enclosed without expressing the gratitude and satisfaction I felt in your reading the extracts. You have clearly and forcibly expressed, in my opinion, the essential arguments on which the whole question turns.

" I did not know till this day that the proposal I made to you some weeks ago, was to be engrossed in the printed memorial which you are shortly to present to the Directors of the Town's Hospital, else I might either have postponed the mention of it, or been more explicit of its details ; and as now I have no more time than a part of this evening for turning my attention to this subject, I must still be more hurried, and I fear more indistinct, in my further observations, than I could wish.

" I beg you then most distinctly to understand, that I would not propose any new management of my parish which implied a surrender of its rights to any one advantage, real or imaginary, that might be enjoyed by the other parishes of Glasgow. If the poor of the other parishes of Glasgow are conceived to have a right to aid from the Town's Hospital, so must mine. If, after the collection at the church-door be found inadequate, there is an ulterior resource to the poor of the other parishes in the fund of the Town's Hospital, my parish must have the very same resource on the occurring of the same inadequacy. My proposal does not go to bar an avenue of relief from my parish which is open to other parishes ; it only goes to obtain the permission that a prior method of relief shall be put to the full trial of its capabilities—when, if found ineffectual, my poor shall be admitted to their full share of other relief in common with the whole poor of the city.

" All that I want then at present is, that the sessional method of relief shall, in the first instance, be allowed to have its fair and unrestricted operation. Under the present system of management, this method is cramped and paralyzed in a variety of ways. It is not liberally supported by the public, because they conceive that it is as good as superseded by the doings of the Town's Hospital. It is not well executed by its agents, because, generally speaking, they reside at a distance from their respective proportions, and have not the knowledge or the sympathy of common acquaintanceship with the people among whom they operate. It is not efficiently seconded by the exertions of private charity, because the very existence of our legal institution, which, like every other throughout the land, is great in promise and wretched in performance, has most delusively lulled into inaction both the vigilance and the humanity of individuals. It is fast putting an end to the kind offices of relationship and neighbourhood—and while it has added to the amount of what is *ostensibly* given for the relief of human wants, it has diminished the whole amount of what is *actually* given, by obstructing all those numerous and unperceived channels of relief which, in a natural state of things, both the benevolence of Christianity and the benevolence of instinct are ever sure to strike out through the great mass of human society.

"I will not, therefore, disguise it, that my honest aim and expectation is, to deliver my parish from a state of dependence on the Town's Hospital altogether—that I shall be disappointed if a single parishioner of mine shall ever need to make an exhibition of his poverty beyond the limits of that parochial jurisdiction in which he resides; or if he shall have occasion to go in quest of charity from other sources, because the care of his own session, and the kindliness of his own neighbourhood, have not been enough for him.

"But should I be disappointed in this expectation, let the shame and the humiliation of the disappointment fall upon myself. Let not my parishioners suffer from any proposal or experiment of mine. And therefore I should like it to be understood at the outset, that the right of my poor for admission into the Town's Hospital, is left in reserve, and may be recurred to at the moment that they are found to be either worse served or worse satisfied than the general poor of Glasgow.

"I look to a very different result. I look to the time when my parish, instead of claiming a right of re-admission into the Town's Hospital, shall have purchased its own right of exemption from the assessments which are now laid upon it for the Town's Hospital. And though I am pleading with you that, under my proposed arrangements, you shall not shut the gate of your institution against the paupers in our district of the town, I am quite confident, that, were these arrangements only acted on, there is not one of my paupers who will ever knock for admittance within your walls.

"You are aware of the specific arrangements which I think indispensable to such a result. I will not be responsible for the effect of any system, if I do not obtain an unfettered parish and an uncontrolled sessional arrangement. In this I may be thwarted in other quarters, and then of course the matter is at an end. I promise no success whatever without the benefit of a residing agency, and of such an arrangement in the letting of my church-seats as may in time reduce the parishioners and hearers to the same set of individuals. It is wondered at by some, that I should further crave the protection of the laws of residence against the other parishes of Glasgow, supposing that the tendency of the people would be to move away from my parish to others which had still the benefit of the present method of supply. But I anticipate the tendency to be all the other way. Nor would I be so eager for the adoption of the sessional method did I not believe that the comforts of the poor in my parish would be materially increased by it.

" In the proposal I have made, I consult the wishes of the people, as well as the general interests of the town. It may take a few months before the method be fully understood—and during that period it is certainly in the power of misrepresentation to do much in the way of annoyance. But even now I know the preference that the people have of the sessional method over the method of supply from the Town's Hospital. And I despair not of its soon becoming the most popular, as it is certainly the kindliest and most effective way of publicly relieving all the temporal distresses to which humanity is liable. In the meantime, all I should ask of our political opposers for a little time, is the charity of their silence. But this I do not expect; and all their attempts to influence the public mind shall not deter me from the prosecution of that method of public charity, which I count to be the most scriptural in its nature, the most salutary in its effects, and by far the most soothing to the heart and feelings of the poor in all its ministrations.

" But the main design of my office is not to achieve any civil or any political enterprise whatever. It is to bring the lessons of Christianity into effectual contact with the minds of the population of an assigned district of the town. I am willing to concur in what I conceive to be the most salutary and Christian method of providing for the poor of that district. But if this method be rejected, my next request is, that I and my session be left to our own proper and peculiar business, and be forthwith disengaged from the management of the poor altogether. I am willing to take, in conjunction with my session, the whole superintendence of the pauperism of our parish. But I am not willing to share in the odium or the mischief of another method which I think to be utterly incompetent to its perfect object, and only calculated to mock the expectations, and aggravate the distresses of the lower orders. One who is ready to take the whole trouble and management of such a concern in the way which he thinks to be best, has surely purchased, by that very proposal, a right of exemption from the duties and drudgeries of this concern in the way which he thinks to be worst. It is not for an ecclesiastical court to be implicated with a system which, in proportion as it extends its operations, extends dissatisfaction and misery among the people. It is not for a minister of the gospel to be acting the obnoxious part of warding off from the supplies of a compulsory provision the very rapacity which that provision has excited. It is not for him to be placed in a situation where he must either appear an enemy of the poor, or an inconsiderate waster of the public money. This defeats the higher purposes of his ministry altogether. It widens the breach between him and his parishioners, already too wide from the unwieldy extent and population of his parish. It harasses and withdraws his mind from the peculiar duties of his station, and begets in the minds of those among whom he labours, a rancorous feeling both against himself and against the Christianity of which he is a messenger.—I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

" KENSINGTON PLACE, *March 9th*, 1818."

APPENDIX K.—P. 258.

The result of this introduction was the obtaining in London of £500. An allusion to Mr. Wilberforce's kindness in this matter occurs in the following letter :—

" GLASGOW, *January 17th*, 1821.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I do feel very much affected by your kind inquiries about me of Mr. Finlay, who favoured me some days ago with a perusal of your friendly letter to him. I have great reason to bless God that I am in very tolerable health, though the pressure of business and other matters has of late restrained very much my intercourse with my friends at a distance. I take great blame to myself for not having fulfilled my intention of transmitting you, in a regular series of communications, all that could be of any interest to the statesman or the Christian philanthropist in this quarter. The truth is, that we have been very much in a state of very tolerable quiescence for a good many months ; and the affair of the Queen has not nearly so excited or disturbed the public mind here as in England. The putting down of our Radicalism last year has gone far to set the popular feelings at rest, and any thing more recent has failed to produce the agitation which it might have done otherwise. And, in the meantime, the *vis medicatrix* of trade (a principle so sure and powerful in its operation that to it alone the Legislature ought to confide the whole economic interests of the country) is steadily bringing matters round to a fairer rate of subsistence and employment for our population. Any pauperism with which I have to do is ten times more manageable this year than it was last, a circumstance which gives me great encouragement in the attempt that I am now prosecuting more hopefully than ever of doing away from my parish a compulsory provision for the poor altogether. I took the liberty of inscribing for you some weeks ago two numbers of my 'Christian and Civic Economy' on Church Patronage, in which I have feebly attempted to sketch what I conceive to have been just your own line of politics in Parliament. It is a line which cannot be maintained without being exposed to assaults of equal virulence and fury from both parties. In my very small way I have been belaboured by the Whigs; and for my late resistance in our Presbytery to a political address,* and that solely on the ground of an entire exemption from all State partizanship being one of the modest and characteristic proprieties of our order, have I got into equally bad terms with the Tories. I am not very sensitive, however, on this subject, though I could not but feel surprised by the erroneous imputations of the 'British Review' hereupon—a work which I think as nearly represents on the whole that Catholic and evangelical style of politics as any periodical with which I am acquainted.

"What a tragical result our emigrating expedition from Glasgow to South Africa has met with. It will go far to damp the spirit of emigration here; and indeed the movement that way has all along been much fomented by a mere popular imagination, which dissipates on the approach of the matter when it comes in characters of reality and good earnest, and calls for a practical resolve on the part of those who offered as adventurers in the cause. I was quite ashamed of the trouble you took with the men to whom I gave letters for London. It was what I never counted on; and had I known that you were to put forth so great an exertion, I never would have dared to introduce them to you. These men went off with a party for Canada; and all the accounts from that quarter are hitherto favourable.

"Our ecclesiastical state is bettering upon the whole. We have formed another parish within the city about a month ago, and obtained in the person of Mr. Muir, an eminent popular minister from the country, a very efficient and acceptable pastor for it. He will prove a great addition to the evangelical labourers of this place, and by his unbounded parochial activity among the families of the poor, will do more to neutralize Radicalism than the whole barrack establishment of the city.

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* In January 1821, soon after the Queen's trial, the Presbytery resolved to present an address to George IV.

"Allow me to express my warm personal regard, as well as my deep reverence for the principles which have guided your important life. Ridicule and resistance I would lay out *a priori* for every one who keeps in the walk of Christian independence, but it ought to encourage you, that among all the wholesome feeling of the country, and where the virus of party has not infused its exasperating poison, there is but one testimony to the worth and the wisdom of your public conduct.

"I beg my respectful compliments to Mrs. Wilberforce. It is my prayer that you may experience much of the comfort and purifying influence of our holy faith, and that a realizing sense of the eternity which is at hand may correct our delusive estimates of the magnitude of this world.—Believe me to be, my dear Sir, yours most affectionately and respectfully,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"What a noble appeal to the higher reason of the country is Foster's Essay on Popular Ignorance."

To aid the emigration of a few families in the parish of St. John's, a collection was made in the church, which was stimulated by the following address from the pulpit:—

"I do not stand here as the advocate of any national political measure for the economic wellbeing of the country, nor, more particularly, as the advocate of the cause of emigration. I believe that, with the vast majority of individuals who resolve upon that step, it is not so much the fruit of an imperious and overwhelming necessity, as of the love of change and the love of adventure. I think that within the limits of our own fair and highly favoured island, there do exist capabilities for the maintenance of all her children ; and, in spite of that dreary season of vicissitude that we have passed, I believe that nothing more is essential towards the upholding of all our people in circumstances of sufficiency, than that the day of sufficiency should, in virtue of their own prudent and economic habits, be improved to the great object of laying in store a provision against the day of distress. I think of most of those who are stimulated to emigration, that there is about them an anxiety respecting the future which greatly overshoots the limit that has been assigned to it by our Saviour ; that their carefulness extends beyond to-morrow, and that they have been fetching up the elements of disquietude, not from the sorely felt necessities of the present day, but from the distant imaginations in which they have brooded about the coming term perhaps, and the coming year, and the coming chances of distress to their family. I believe it will be found in almost all the cases of human anxiety, that it is fed by the apprehensions of a futurity which lies far more remote than the end of that period prescribed by the New Testament for human thoughtfulness ; and it is my decided advice to all who are hesitating between this country and another, that unless the pressure of an impending and now felt necessity be upon them—that if they have the prospect of all that is needful for the body from one day to another—that if they have here the essentials of life, though they have neither of its luxuries nor of its splendour, their best interest is just to go as quietly through the pilgrimage of this world as they can, and, instead of throwing themselves on the uncertain ocean and the uncertain regions which lie beyond it, to set themselves contentedly down to whatever their hand findeth to do in their own immediate vicinity, where they will never find themselves abandoned by the faithfulness of Him who has promised to uphold them in all that is necessary, and to make it plain to their own experience that godliness, with contentment, is great gain.

" What then, it may be asked, is the purpose of the small local exertion that is making in this church and parish for emigrants ? You may remember, my brethren, about twelve months ago, when the uproar of Radicalism was at its height, many of our citizens were in a sad state of terror and disturbance thereupon, and they would willingly have purchased the privilege of walking securely in our streets, and sleeping securely in their houses, at the expense of half their fortune ; and certain it is, that there was not only a trembling on their part as if they were standing upon the brink of a ruinous and wide-wasting anarchy, but there was also, at the same time, a triumphing on the part of certain deluded men, who felt as if their glorious harvest of freedom and plenty was at hand. Well, then, during the whole of that period, a few intelligent and sober-minded operatives saw that in whatever way their circumstances were to be mended, it was not from the quarter of politics that they could obtain any effectual relief, and they turned their thoughts to the object of emigration, and they prosecuted this object in the most pacific and rational way by correspondence with the Government of the land, and they kept themselves, as far as I understand, completely aloof from political men of the times ; and, as the fruit of their calm and sensible and steady perseverance, they obtained from Government certain grants and facilities which were to be rendered to them on their arrival at Canada ; and, after this large and liberal advance to them from the higher powers, nothing more was necessary than to complete the means of transporting them across the Atlantic, and so, my brethren, they came upon a benevolent public for this purpose, but not till after the Radicalism of this neighbourhood had received its death-blow—not till the storm had been hushed, and all those alarms which many would have given thousands to be rid of, were completely dissipated. We certainly felt that it was indeed a very small affair to mark our approbation of the loyalty and good conduct of these men by the bagatelle that would have sufficed for the accomplishment of their wishes, and that it was really not very courageous to refuse in the moment of security what we would a few weeks before most gladly have given a hundred times over just to have kept the population in the same mild and pacific temper with the men whose cause I am now advocating; and besides, that it was helping out Government in its gracious intentions towards them, and positively saving it from the imputation that, after all, this semblance of a boon to the distressed turned out to be little else than a mockery of their hopes; so that truly to our feelings it looked a matter of good order as well as of generosity to stamp an efficacy and a completeness on what Government had done, and to supplement, and that to the full, the generosity of our rulers, following it up by all the aid that was requisite for the object of men who were willing to commit themselves to all the chances of this perilous adventure, and to face the dangers of an unknown land, not for their own sakes alone, but for the sake of those who staid behind, and were suffering with themselves under all the miseries of an unemployed and unprovided population.

"After all, however, the cause is unpopular, and subscriptions have gone very heavily on for it among the upper classes of society; and though certainly not much disposed ourselves to hold out emigration as a measure to which in the general any artificial or public encouragement ought to be given, we might entirely disclaim all participation in the principle, which we pronounce to be in every way as detestable as that which would justify the trading in human flesh, that has so long been the disgrace of civilized nations. It is not because we desire labour to be cheap that we would decline to help forward the emigration of labourers; it is not because we want the rich to make an advantageous market of the industry of the poor. We should like to see a far more liberal remuneration for the work of human hands than is now rendered to it; and we think that there is a method of accomplishing this far more effectual than by opening all the possible outlets of emigration. We trust that a day is coming when the sobriety and economy of our people will at length conduct them each to the possession of his own little capital, when they shall stand on the vantage-ground of treating independently with their employers, and not as if standing on the brink of necessity, they shall have it in their power to decline every paltry and inadequate offer, and without anything like factious or turbulent combination, they shall be able to keep themselves off when wages would be low, so that the overplus of their work may soon be levelled away, and the urgency of the demand may again raise their wages to the level of sufficiency ; and thus, my brethren, do we think that the high-road to a more elevated peasantry is by rendering them more enlightened, more virtuous, and more Christianized in all their habits and all their ways.

" We think that there are better resources, and we should be happy if Government in all time coming were to maintain a habit which it were well they maintained in everything that relates to the economic and trading interest of the country—that is, let everything of this kind alone ; but it so happens that they have interfered in this instance with their helps instead of their hindrances, and for the very limited and temporary object of making good a bounty, which they have already and actually extended to a few residing in our parish, have we made for once an exertion in the cause which will never be made again, and lifted in your hearing a voice which will never be repeated."

APPENDIX L.—P. 363.

" When Dr. Chalmers was at Mr. Babington's in 1822, I asked him to preach in my church at Syston. The correspondence arising from this circumstance was very useful to me, and is to this day. I was before, I may say superstitiously, attached to extempore preaching, and thought I could not preach well but in that way. To the very injury of my health I continued that mode of preaching for years, and should perhaps have continued it to this day had I not been so happy as to be favoured with a correspondence with Dr. Chalmers, and been advised by him to deliver my thoughts from paper." This extract from a letter of Mr. Morgan, dated Syston Vicarage, June 18th, 1850, forms a suitable preface to the following interesting correspondence :—

" St. Andrews, *November 14th*, 1826.

" My Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 8th I perused with very great interest and affection. I have the warmest remembrance of you at Rothely Temple, and beg that when you see the excellent family there, you will present to them my best and kindest regards.

" I have no immediate prospect of being in your neighbourhood soon, but I still think that your allowance of me to preach in your pulpit would be a little adventurous.

"I really, in the diseased state of your English pauperism, feel very much at a loss how to advise you to that which is best for relieving the temporal necessities of your poor, nor shall I ever, I fear, feel myself on satisfactory ground in reference to that topic 'till that which letteth is taken out of the way.'

"Meanwhile, there is one simple and intelligible path for the advancement of their spiritual interests—'prayer and the ministry of the word.' Though even in this holy warfare I look on the corrupting influence of your system [Poor Laws] as a formidable adversary; and the abolition of it I regard as not more desirable for the improvement of the economic than for that of the moral and Christian state of your English Society.

"I should feel the utmost toleration, nay even welcome, for all evangelical Dissenters; and I would not refuse this characteristic to the great bulk of the Wesleyan Methodists, though Arminians. They are speculatively wrong on one point, but I do think that many of them have the living spirit of God's own children. They build on the foundation, and along with occasional hay and stubble, they build precious things. They 'hold the Head;' and in Glasgow I used to hail them as my most effectual fellow-labourers.—I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly and affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ST. ANDREWS, *March* 1*st*, 1827.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 19th I received, and read with great interest. In regard to Dissenters, if I thought them evangelical and right men, I would not hesitate a moment on the question of the advantage to your parishioners by their preaching among them. It might perhaps, considering the jealousy of your high dignitaries, not be prudent openly to countenance them. But I would never once think of signalizing myself by any measures of active or aggressive hostility against them; nay rather, circumstanced as you describe your parish to be, I should rejoice in their services, as I would in the wholesome co-operation of useful and powerful auxiliaries in any other cause.

"I am, perhaps, on the matter of man's natural inability, and of God's absolute and irreversible ordinations, as high a Calvinist as any acquaintance you have; yet I think that I can perceive the consistency of this with the most free and urgent and practical earnestness, not merely in proposing to sinners the overtures of reconciliation, but in beseeching their acceptance of them. The freezing speculation which would forbid this, seems to me at variance with all apostolical example. Look to the burning earnestness of Peter's address, when he entreated the Jews to 'save themselves,'—to 'repent and be converted, that their sins may be blotted out.' It is not the indicative but the imperative mood which he makes use of. It is not a mere didactic exposition of the way by which we are saved, but it is a practical call on those whom he addresses to betake themselves to that way. And it marks most strikingly the harmony which there is between the doctrine of God's sovereignty, on the one hand, and the duty of His ministers, on the other, to address themselves to the hopes and the fears, and all the active principles of man's nature—that, as the result of Peter's exhortation, 'three thousand were added to the Church of *such as should be saved*,'—meaning no doubt by those who should be saved, the 'as many as were ordained to eternal life,' and of whom it is said in another place, when the word was addressed to them, that they believed.

" The natural inability of man to accept the offers of the gospel no more supersedes the duty of the offerer than the impotency of the withered hand superseded the command of our Saviour that it should be stretched forth. Power was given in this instance along with the command, and it is given still along with the preaching of the gospel. Do, my dear Sir, continue to preach it freely, universally, urgently. It is well that you feel the impotency of the preacher's voice. But the inference from this is not that you are to chill, in obedience to any worthless dogma, the warmth and earnestness of your preaching; but it is that to preaching you must add prayer. Throw yourself upon God for the success of all your ministrations, while you suffer nothing to blunt the force or the fervour of these ministrations, and He will add the efficacy of His Spirit to the testimony of His word.

" I have left myself no room to speak of election. It is a topic for advanced more than for incipient Christians to be discoursed with upon. It requires delicacy, but it seems a hard saying that any subject which the Bible has found room for in its pages should not be admitted at all into our pulpits. The covenant of grace is a very fair theme for being frequently expatiated upon. The extracts from your 'Articles' are very precious. I admire exceedingly all those authoritative compositions of the Church of England, your 'Articles,' your 'Prayer-Book,' your 'Homilies.' May the Dispenser of all grace give you a willing people in the day of His power, and make you the honoured instrument of turning many sons and many daughters unto righteousness.—Believe me, yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

" ST. ANDREWS, *June 9th*, 1827.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I have not found time since I received your kind letter in London to reply till now. I am more inclined to regard the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a memorial than as a pledge—that is to say, than as a pledge on the part of God that He will bestow spiritual blessings. If to be viewed as a pledge, I would regard it rather as a pledge on the part of man that he will render spiritual services. It is by his voluntary act that the commemoration is performed, and the public profession is made. This I hold tantamount to a promise, on his part, that he will henceforth be the Lord's. It is an act of dedication, and by which he stands pledged to give up his future life to the will of Him who is the great Master of the ordinance.

" I truly do not wonder at the difficulty of which you complain in the management of your poor. Under your system these difficulties are wholly unavoidable. Continue to ply them with the offers of the gospel and the expositions of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. The political and parochial arrangements mixed up with the work of the ministry are all against you. Do you visit them at their own houses?—I should think that much may be done by a system of week-day services. In Scotland it is the custom for the clergyman to perform an annual visitation of his parish, entering every house, and making separate addresses to every family, or to a small assemblage of contiguous families.—Believe me, my dear Sir, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

" ST. ANDREWS, *February 28th*, 1828.

" MY DEAR SIR,—A full answer to your queries would require a treatise rather than a letter; and will you permit me, therefore, just to state, in the general, that I hold by the distinction between the ordinary and saving influences of God's Spirit, and that none will fall short of the saving who has made a right use of the ordinary, or who has made all the use of them that he might have done. It is not necessary for the vindication of this procedure that a man should know that it is the Spirit who is working when he feels a voice within him calling him either to seek or to do. He may be sensible of nothing but a conscience—that organ through which the Spirit sends His admonitions to the heart—and, for his disregard of conscience, a clear principle of condemnation will be brought to bear upon him in the day of reckoning.

" When the Spirit wholly abandons a man, He can plead enough of contempt and resistance to former admonitions to justify the measure. It is true that He perseveres longer with one man than another, and bears with greater provocations; this He may do on the principle that He can do what He will with His own. Some are more privileged than others, yet none have a right to complain, for there is none who has not given provocation enough to justify his final abandonment.

"When I speak of the claim of locality, I speak in reference to a large city, and have found the advantage of an edifice for worship being situated very near, or placed in the midst of families. The local system has its influence, too, in country parishes, though it is not so indispensable.

"I would not minister at one and the same time to the spiritual and bodily wants of the poor. I should like it greatly better to make sure of being welcomed by them on the former ground alone. * * *

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"EDINBURGH, *August* 14*th*, 1829.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I do not think that the amount of pulpit usefulness turns in any great degree on the difference between read and unread sermons. President Edwards of America was a reader, and yet one of the most effective preachers ever known, and the instrument of very extensive awakenings in his congregation. I believe that the want of success on the part of clergymen is mainly reducible into the neglect of prayer, see Acts vi. 4, and there observe the co-ordinate importance given by the Apostles to prayer and the ministry of the word. I furthermore suspect that the usefulness of the English clergy is diminished by that topic of heartburning between you and your people—the tithes. I should mourn over the alienation of a single farthing from the revenues of the English Church, but I should rejoice in an equitable commutation, and that all the odium and bitterness now connected with your temporalities were done away. The circumstance now adverted to may be one cause of the superior success in some instances of the Dissenting ministers, though I cannot believe that this superiority is universal.

"I am very glad to find that we are at one on the Catholic question.—I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"EDINBURGH, *October* 16*th*, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am led to regard the witness of the Spirit as indirect, or an inference gathered from the truths which He enables us to perceive, and from the fruits which He causes us to abound in. I will not deny that there might be more in it than this, but what that more is, I can at least say I have not experienced. God grant that I had a hundred-fold more of the indirect than my poor attainments amount to.

"I should think that the best reply to your question as to the most effectual means for promoting the Christianity of a parish, would be the apostolic utterance, 'We shall give ourselves wholly to the ministry of the word and to prayer.' Both must unite, for either alone were vain and impotent. Let us minister as much as if the whole success depended on ourselves; let us pray as much as if the whole success depended upon God.

"Candour has its limits, however difficult, or perhaps impossible, it is to define them. I would apply to this virtue what Paul enjoins respecting the duty of living peaceably, 'If it be possible, and as much as lieth in you." —Ever believe me, my dear Sir, yours with very great regard and esteem,

Thomas Chalmers."

"Leamington, Warwickshire, *July* 21*st*, 1835.

"My very Dear Sir,—I have the greatest value for your letters, and would have very much enjoyed a little intercourse with you, had I been enabled to fulfil my intentions of another visit to the good Mrs. Babington; but I have come hither in quest of health, and though not worse than I have been, on the average, for these eighteen months, I hope that my yet valetudinarian state will excuse me from the labour of writing you at present at very great length.

"I am altogether of your mind as to the indifferency which there is between reading sermons or preaching extempore. My preference and my own practice are in behalf of the former. But I will not dogmatize intolerantly on either side of this question, leaving it to be decided variously, according to the infinite variety which there is between the tastes and talents of men.

"The Church does need reform; but I deprecate from heart the abridgment, and far more, the demolition of any of our Protestant Establishments, whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland.

"May the Giver of all grace minister great personal comfort and a blessing on your public services.—I ever am, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

Thomas Chalmers."

"Burntisland, *July* 29*th*, 1841.

"My Dear Sir,—There is no reading I like better than religious biography; and my recollection of the pleasure I had in the perusal of the Life, by you, of Mr. Charles of Bala, makes me all the more hopeful of a similar enjoyment in reading the Memoirs which you have undertaken.*

"I have a very cordial remembrance of Mr. Edwards and Mr. Phillips, and owe them much for the instruction I drew from 'Williams on the Equity and Sovereignty of God,' which I had not read till I read it in the copy which they had the goodness to present me with. Pray offer my affectionate regards to them both, and my best wishes for their personal comfort and increasing Christian usefulness.

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* Mr. Morgan is at present occupied in preparing a Memoir of Harris, the first itinerant preacher in Wales.

" You speak of Williams as a poet; pray, is there any memoir of Williams the theologian, for whose transcendental views I have a high estimation ?

" Many thanks for your sympathy with our Church. Should its outward man perish by its overthrow as an Establishment, I trust its inward man will be renewed day by day. * * * THOMAS CHALMERS."

" EDINBURGH, *March* 3*d*, 1843.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I am glad you persevere in the composition of religious biographies, a species of reading in which I greatly delight.

" This Puseyism is a sad invasion upon your Church. It is very like the second beast in the book of Revelation. I expect nothing else than the disseveration of our Church from the State. I might have written you at greater length, had it not been for the state of engrossment into which I am put by the exigencies of our transition-period.—I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

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" I did not originate this overture, nor did I even so much as assist in committee at the construction of any of its clauses, but thinking well as I do of its general spirit, and more especially of by far the most important proposition held out in it, and being furthermore expressly commissioned by the Presbytery of Glasgow to take a sort of charge and management in bringing it before the notice of this venerable Court, I beg now to offer a few remarks, in which I shall confine myself, however, to the one great topic that relates to the course of theological education. It is well known, that after having finished his classical and philosophical studies, there are two courses by which a young gentleman may find his way to a license, and so become qualified for presentation to the charge of a church and parish. There is what is commonly called the regular course, which requires his presence at the university seat during the whole of four successive sessions, and a certain prescribed attendance on the lectures of the Theological Professors. And there is what is commonly called the occasional course, that requires six years for its completion, but to balance which both the winter residence of the student at college, and his attendance on the lectures that are there delivered, is altogether dispensed with, and the preparation of four or five exercises, either in Scripture criticism or in popular composition, which he comes up with at various times from the country, and delivers *viva voce* in the hearing of the professor and assembled students, forms the whole of his academic discipline and training in Theology for the important office of a minister in our Church. There is besides these two courses a kind of intermediate way of it, by which they are compounded the one with the other, and in virtue of which, by means of two regular and three occasional sessions, or of certain other numerical proportions which it is needless to specify, the course of study may be got over in five successive sessions.

"Now the purpose of the overture on your table is entirely to abolish the occasional attendance, or at least to make three sessions of regular study at the Divinity Hall indispensable. Its direct consequence, if adopted, will clearly be to elevate the style of theological science and scholarship among the ministers of our Establishment, and we therefore fondly persuade ourselves, that with all who can rightly appreciate how much it is that learning serves to grace and illustrate Christianity, or how little it is that Christianity has to dread when in the hands of thoroughly accomplished advocates from the most hostile and insidious subtleties of learning ; we fondly hope that among those who are so assured of the stability of our faith as not to be afraid of confronting it with all which human talent or erudition can possibly muster for its overthrow, and who know that it is in the region of light and not of ignorance where it most rejoices in the greatness of conscious strength, and stands on the best vantage ground for awing all its adversaries into silence ; we think we are quite confident that among such as these, and we trust they comprehend a great majority, if not one and all, of this venerable Court, any proposal which goes to augment the professional literature of all our future ecclesiastics will be received not merely with indulgence but welcome, and even before they have proceeded to examine or to modify the details of this overture, we trust it to be their general feeling that its object is excellent, and that the cause for which it has been transmitted to their notice stamps a recommendation on its very forehead.

"There is one very grievous injury which comes out of this occasional attendance, and of a course so very meagre and so unsatisfactory being held enough to accomplish a clergyman in the whole peculiar literature of his profession. It serves to degrade that literature in general estimation. It makes it be regarded as a thing of nought, or at least a thing of insignificance. What other inference can be made when we contrast the intenseness of literary effort that there is in the philosophical department of study, with the relaxation of literary effort that there is in the theological—when we look to the ardour and the generous ambition and the ever-plying diligence of youthful minds in the busy arena of human science, and the chilling transition that is felt by them when on the confines of their peculiar education for the Church, they just feel as if they had entered within the vaults of a dormitory—when, warm from the classic page, or from that book of nature where the hand of modern discovery has unveiled so many a bright and beauteous character, they take their sudden descent into a region of apathy, and catch the dull infection of idle listlessness and unconcern that is everywhere around them. It is not that theology offers nothing that can liberalize or exalt a generous spirit; for did it occupy its right place, it would be found to touch at almost every point on the nature of man, and to bear with decisive effect on the whole frame and economy of civil society; thus standing by the side of all that is dignified and great, whether in moral or political philosophy. It is not that its existing professors are wanting to the task which has been put into their hands, for all that they need is a more respectful homage on the part both of the public and of the Church, to the importance of their high functions. They feel oppressed by the dominant lethargy of the times. They are struggling against it in order to work the subject into higher demand, and higher estimation. I appeal to those of them who are now present whether an appetite as keen and as intellectual on the part of the students for that which falls from the chair of theology as for that which falls from the chairs of science or general literature, whether this would not cheer and animate, and perhaps augment a little the preparations of the office which they fill? It is the vice not of the agents but of the system—a system by which they are told that an untended and undirected idleness of six years is deemed by the Church a full equivalent for all the wisdom that professors can emanate in four. What a blow is this upon the energies of a teacher? How can it be expected that he shall bear up under the deadening influence of such a sentiment as this? Why should we marvel if an article be underwrought when it is so grossly undervalued? The wonder is, that any heart or activity should remain to him for the business of his classes in the face of so grievous a discouragement, or that he should live and exercise his functions with any comfort or efficiency at all amid the damps of so torpid an atmosphere. It is thus that theology, to the veneration of our ancestors for which we owe all the noble universities of our land, has now in a measure been chased off the stage of public estimation—that her place and her pretensions have been usurped by the children that have sprung from her—that no one vestige of her old precedency remains, saving perhaps the uppermost seat which her representatives still occupy in a professorial pew, or the foremost position that is assigned to them in a professorial procession—that bating this, theology looks to the general eye as if shorn of her beams amid the academic lustre that is made to encircle all the other sciences—that in public imagination there is about her a certain air of dry and grim and wrinkled antiquity, as if something of the rust of the middle ages still adhered to her, her whole garb and phraseology having worn out of date, it being quite the impression that when she uttered her strange and mysterious dogmata, she did it in the dialect of other days. I speak not my own feelings or my own fancy upon this subject, but those of a proud regardless literary and demi-infidel generation, who when they cast their contemptuous eye at the theological faculty, and behold what may be called its total want of keeping with the other branches of the Senatus Academicus, are confirmed in their every rash imagination that theology is indeed the most jejune of all mental entertainments, that theology is indeed the most tasteless and ignoble of all the sciences.

"It is in the power of the Church to restore ancient theology to her honours. You have only to lift an imperative demand for the professional as you do for the general science and literature of your clergy. You have merely to say that in no instance can a strict and regular attendance on her prelections any more be dispensed with, than attendance on the classes of philosophy is dispensed with. You have to restore to her the importance of which she has been bereft under an economy of things that virtually declared such a worthlessness in all her academic lessons, that it positively mattered not whether the student was within sound of the hearing of them. You have to tell the nurslings of theology, that the tuition of their venerable mother is of such mighty bearing and magnitude in your eyes, that year after year they must now sit whole seasons at her feet, and there imbibe those moral and spiritual and intellectual treasures wherewith she is most abundantly fraught, and which, if honoured and waited upon as she ought to be, she is both willing and able most abundantly to dispense to them. Both your present and future professors of divinity could not fail to catch an impulse from the encouragement of such an homage as this rendered by the Church to that profession to which they consecrate their honourable labours; and though I do not just want theology to be restored at all points to the habit and costume of a former generation—though I could well dispense with many of the enormous folios and much of the bulky erudition of our forefathers—though I would not lay it as a *sine qua non* upon our students, that they should grapple with whole libraries, and toil their fatiguing way through those mighty volumes of Latinity, where every section is a foot and a half long, and every chapter would expand in ordinary type to the dimensions of a modern octavo—though I should rather than all this, while the whole doctrines of the gospel were most firmly and faithfully exhibited, have theology translated into a tone more accordant with the spirit and philosophy of our age;—yet I would most assuredly like to see among her disciples the same ardour, and industry, and unconquerable perseverance which marked the champions of the Reformation—the same prodigious force and intenseness of application which signalized the day of Puritanism in England, and have left trophies innumerable in the institutes, and the polyglots, and the prolegomena of a century that has now gone by. * * *

"There may be a number of objections to this overture, of which I am not at present aware, and which will come out in the course of discussion and argument; but there is one for which I will not wait, but rather anticipate, for I am sure it must be stirring at this moment in the hearts of all, in whose regenerated bosom there is either the warmth or the tenderness of piety. After all, it may be asked, is it the learning of a minister which gives the greatest practical efficiency to his labours? Is this the ingredient of mightiest effect in the work of making Christians? Is it not always found that the man of Christian simplicity outstrips the man of mere science in respect of moral and spiritual influence upon the population? Is it the most accomplished minister who is at all times the most operative minister? And might not a measure, the sole consequence of which is to elevate the literature of the Church, throw a barrier across the path of many a struggling youth, who, under the visitation of a strong religious earnestness, was working up his assiduous way from among the humblest of the people, and would indeed, if not so arrested, have been the most effective pastor of us all, because the man amongst us of most fervent and faithful prayer, and of most unblemished holiness. There is so much of truth, and of important truth, in the principle of this objection, that I must be permitted to spend a few minutes on the application of it to our present argument. It is indeed most true, that the mightiest element by far of Christian influence is Christian worth—that it is this, and neither his erudition nor his philosophy, which thrones a clergyman in chiefest ascendency over the hearts of his people—that argument may silence, and eloquence may delight, and learning may overcome the petulance of infidelity, and the homage of human admiration may thus be rendered to the lustre of human accomplishments—and all that a college can bestow may be borne along with him in triumph to his parish, and yet in regard to the real workmanship of Christianizing its families be utterly powerless as is the breath of infancy—that out of the humble and despised conventicle which sectarianism has reared, there may be issuing all that influence which can alone tell on the moral and religious habits of our population; and thus mortifying though it be to the pride of literary attainment, it may nevertheless hold that this man of professional accomplishment is the veriest cipher in respect of professional usefulness, and not for one moment to be compared with that babe in Christ whose enthusiasm he nauseates, with that branded fanatic on whom he is ever wreaking the cruelty of his scorn.

"The first and most obvious answer to this objection is, that both are best. The man of Christian love is not the worse but the better of being furthermore the man of Christian literature. The man whose character and zeal qualify him best for making a religious impression, is also the better for having the knowledge and the wisdom which qualify him best for judging of the impression. Were I to define, Moderator, what is meant by turning a man into a Christian, I would say that it consists in stamping on the fleshly tablet of his heart the doctrines and the morality which are already graven on the tablet of Scripture, so that the Christianity which is impressed on the living subject shall be a precise transcript of the Christianity that is written on the unalterable Record. The Bible is the seal which gives the impression; the human mind is the recipient which takes it; and the faculty by which a man judges of the accordancy that there is between the one and the other, is altogether different from the faculty of putting forth that efficacious touch through which the impression is actually made good, and the man becomes, in the language of the New Testament, a living epistle of Christ Jesus. But it is better that he have both these faculties than only one of them. It is surely better if in addition to the operative faculty by which Christianity is wrought, he should also have the discerning faculty by which Christianity is estimated. Suppose him to have the power of so bearing with urgency and effect upon the seal, as that a deep impression shall be left by him on the heart to which it is applied, he is surely not the worse, but the better, if, after he has done so, he can look with a judging eye on the character that has been formed, and mark the authentic lineaments by which it accords, or the spurious lineaments by which it deviates from the great and unalterable pattern of the word of God. For this purpose he is the better of being able to look with a learned eye upon his Bible, and by aid of the Grammar and Lexicon, and all the instruments of philology and criticism, to manifest the doctrine which is graven thereupon. And for this purpose he is also the better of being able to look with a metaphysical eye upon the arcana of our nature, or at least with an eye of sagacious observation on all the phenomena of human conduct, that he may be able to drag forth to light that moral and intellectual picture which the Bible is said to have left upon the soul. A rough and home-spun operative in the work of Christianity may do the work, but it is well that an accomplished clergyman be near him to decide upon the work and to discriminate between the genuine and the counterfeit in Christianity, so as that he both may rectify and restrain the excesses of fanaticism, and also recall the departure that heresy is making from the law and from the testimony.

" This, then, is the way in which I would dispose of the objection. If I saw a young aspirant after Christian usefulness casting perhaps an ambitious eye toward the ministerial office, but utterly unable for the cost of a ministerial education, I would not force and foster this ambition by any artificial processes whatever. I would not lure him to the hazardous adventure of swelling by the accession of one man the already overdone competition that there is for vacancies. I would not thus conduct him to the margin of a field on which if he enters he may miss the usefulness that his heart is set upon, and reap nothing to himself but a harvest of disappointed hopes, and fruitless endeavours, and unavailing regrets and sympathies. Least of all would I, for the purpose of admitting him amongst us, let down the incumbent literature of our clergy, and smooth for him an avenue of admission to our Establishment. The very last thing I would concede should be to level that hill of difficulty, by whose steep and rugged and arduous ascent it is that we attain a lofty and laborious scholarship. I would persist in making it most firmly indispensable that the only gate of entrance for every minister of our Church should be on the very summit of that hill. And then, should it be said, that for the sake of heightening and refining the one ingredient of the Church's literature I am lessening the other ingredient, of the Church's piety, and for the sake of an accomplishment by which she is adorned, stripping her of a grace by which she is blest and rendered effective for the conversion of multitudes, I would answer, that it is still a possible thing to make this piety available for the best of purposes. The Christianity of this man is not lost to the cause: he may still be a leaven for good in the sphere he occupies, unlettered though he be in all that proceeds from halls or colleges. Still in him may the word of God have made its sound and wholesome and sufficient impression, and from him the impression may be reflected back again on the minds of many others as unlettered as himself. And thus all in the book of God's testimony, which mainly goes so to enlighten a man as to turn him into a Christian, may be made to pass from an humble convert to his acquaintances and neighbours, and without the learning which serves to acquire for Christianity the dignified, though vague and general, homage of the upper classes, he may at least be a fit agent for transmitting essential Christianity throughout the plebeianism that is around him.

" Let us have as learned a clergy as possible—for without having such for judges and overseers the faith of the Christian world might be occasionally disfigured by the excesses of fanaticism ; but let us also have as zealous and operative a laity as possible ; for, be assured, that without the activities of a zealous spirit faith might cease to be found, and the abuses be got rid of only by getting rid of the whole stock upon which such abuses are occasionally grafted. It is here that churches under the domination of a worldly and unsanctified priesthood are apt to go astray. They confide the cause wherewith they are entrusted to the merely intellectual class of labourers, and they have overlooked, or rather have violently and impetuously resisted, the operative class of labourers. They conceive that all is done by regulation, and that nothing but what is mischievous is to be done by impulse. Their measures are generally all of a sedative, and few or none of them of a stimulating tendency. Their chief concern is to repress the pruriencies of religious zeal, and not to excite or foster the zeal itself. By this process they may deliver their Establishment of all extravagances, so as that we shall no longer behold within its limits any laughable or offensive caricature of Christianity. But who does not see that by this process they may also deliver the Establishment of Christianity altogether, and that all our exhibitions of genuine godliness may be made to disappear under the same withering influence which deadens the excrescences that occasionally spring from it. It is quite a possible thing for the same Church to have a proud complacency in the lore and argument and professional science of its ministers, and along with this to have a proud contempt for the pious ardour and the pious activity of its lay members. In other words, it may applaud the talent by which Christianity is estimated, but discourage the talent by which Christianity is made. And thus, while it continues to be graced by the literature and accomplishment of its clergy, may it come to be reduced to a kind of barren and useless inefficiency as to the great practical purposes for which it was ordained.

" All the piety which is shut out by this overture from the Church for the sake of its literature, will roll back among the people, and there, in this land of toleration, will it find scope and liberty to expatiate, and the same ambition which has been checked in its primary impulse, will find vent in some other walk and some other way of Christian usefulness ; and the likelihood is, that catching the irrepressible spirit of the times, it will go to augment those religious activities which are now so busily afloat among unofficial and unordained laymen ; and thus, the final upshot of such a process may be a more intense operation of Sabbath-teaching, and of lay itinerancy, and of unlettered Methodism, and, in a word, of all those gratuitous and self-originating movements which have hitherto been more exhibited on the outfield of sectarianism than in the enclosed and well-kept garden of an Establishment.

"Now, Moderator, the fact is undeniable, that to certain individuals this were a most cheering spectacle, and to certain others, this were a spectacle utterly to be loathed and nauseated. The former have such an impression of nature's lethargy and deadness and unconcern, that they are glad to bring from any quarter whatever the various and ever-plying activities of Christian zeal to bear upon it; the latter, again, in their treatment of humanity, proceed on such an excessive fertility of weeds and ranknesses in the human heart, that all the toil and strenuousness of ecclesiastics must be given to the great object of keeping them down, and so of confining Christianity within the limits of moderation. The former are pleased to behold any symptom of spiritual life or vegetation at all; the latter think, if positive strength should be put forth on the side of spiritual vegetation, positive strength should also be put forth on the side of repressing its hated overgrowth. The former, so far from being alarmed by the rumours of a stir, and a sensation, and an enthusiasm, and the revival of an old Kilsyth or Cambuslang awakening, whether in a Western isle or a Highland glen, are ready to hail it as they would the promise of some coming regeneration; the latter are apt to look upon all this as a most vile efflorescence of everything that is vulgar and vicious and degrading, and it is impossible adequately to express the utter disdain with which the promoters of such a work are regarded by them, and they look down upon them as empirics who invade the province of the regular faculty, and do the same mischief in theology that is done by quacks in medicine; that, altogether, it is the product of a fanaticism which ought with high-toned contempt to be extirpated, and an offence that, if possible, should be instantly and conclusively swept away. The former, again, are not wanting in some hard thoughts of the latter, and they have even been heard to say of them, that in the great vehemence of their desire to rid the Church of such offence, they are on the highway to the deadliest offence of all, even that of a vineyard so cleared and purified and thwarted in all its vegetative tendencies, as to offer from one end to the other of it an unvaried expanse of earthliness—that, in their eagerness to check the excrescences of spiritual growth, they would do it so effectually as to reduce to a naked trunk what else might have sent forth its clustering branches, and yielded in goodly abundance, the fruits of piety and righteousness—that under this blasting operation spurious and genuine Christianity are alike obliterated, and the work of pulling up the tares is carried on so furiously that the wheat is pulled up along with it—the vineyard under such a management is rifled of its goodliest blossoms as well as of its noxious and pestilential weeds; and thus, the upshot of the process for extirpating fanaticism may be to turn the fruitful field into a wilderness, and to spread desolation and apathy over all its borders.

"It is not at all necessary to affirm what our own inclinations are on this matter, and whether they tend more to the one or the other side of this alternative. What we want at present is the greatest possible number of votes for our overture; and, we do think, that both the parties in this opposition in feeling, which we have now alluded to, ought, for the honour of their respective views, to give their prompt and unequivocal support to it. Those who have a taste for popular agency, and lay enterprises, and the whole apparatus of religious schools and religious societies, which are so multiplying around us in this busy age of philanthropic activity and adventure, with them the objection I have attempted to combat ought to have no place. They can be at no loss how to dispose of the piety that solicited admission into the field of ministerial usefulness, but was rejected because of a poverty that could not purchase the required degree of literature along with it. They can find use and operation for all this piety; and after this, on what ground, I ask, would they persist in repugnance to an overture the effect of which is to exalt the clergy of our Church to a still higher pre-eminence than they even now occupy for all the accomplishments of sacred literature? Will they come forward and say that they are afraid of literature?—that a clergy too enlightened would not suit them?—that having to breathe in the muddy atmosphere of popular folly and popular ignorance, they want no science and no scholarship whose hateful beams might disperse the congenial vapours with which the effervescence of plebeianism has filled and overspread the whole scene of their ignoble labours? What! do they tremble lest the light of philosophy should penetrate into the dark unknown of their own inglorious skulking-places; and are they really conscious, after all, that what they have handled and patronized is a low, paltry, drivelling fanaticism, which would shrink before the full gaze of a lettered and intellectual Church, where every minister might be a luminary of science as well as a luminary of the gospel? I trust that in the vote of this day they will proudly repel all these degrading imputations, or, if they do not, that the timely alarm will be felt in another quarter—that the friends of learning will rally and form into strength elsewhere—that the fact of a fermentation, and an unexampled restlessness, and a busy movement of schemes and of operations before unknown in the walks of popular Christianity, and withal a dread on the part of zealous champions and overseers lest the lamp of Christian literature should be lighted up with greater brilliancy than before, I trust that this will be felt and understood by those who nauseate what they term the missionary and methodistical spirit of our age as the intimation of what they ought to do. It is not by putting forth the arm of intolerance that they will reach it its exterminating blow. It is not by fulminating edicts that they will overthrow it. It is not by raising and strengthening all the mound of exclusion that they will be able to guard our Establishment against what they deem, and honestly deem, to be the inroads of a pestilence. These are not the legitimate defences of our Church against hateful fanaticism ; and if this fanaticism draw them to the open arena of light and of liberty—if the demand which it lifts in their hearing be that the torch of learning shall be blown into a clearer and intenser flame, and be brought to shine upon its ways—if the cry which it sends forth is for more of erudition and more of philosophy, and that not one single labourer shall be admitted into the ministerial field till one or other of our universities, those established luminaries of our land, have shed upon his understanding a larger supply of that chaste and pure and academic light, the property of which is to guide and not to bewilder, to clarify the eye of the mind, and not to dazzle it to the overpowering of all its faculties—if this be the beseeching voice of fanaticism, and it be left to pass unregarded away, then have the enemies of fanaticism become the enemies of knowledge, and our Church, instead of exhibiting the aspect of zeal tempered by wisdom, and of a warm active busy spirit of Christian philanthropy, under the control and guardianship of accomplished and well-educated clergymen, may at length, desolated of all its pieties, be turned into a scene of secularity and coarseness and contempt for vital religion, when the sacredness of Christianity has fled, and left not behind it one redeeming quality in the science of Christianity among its officiating ministers, and alike abandoned by the light of the Divine Spirit and the light of human philosophy, it will offer the spectacle of a dreary and extended waste, without one spot of loveliness or verdure which the eye can delight to rest upon."—*May* 23*d*, 1821.

APPENDIX N.—P. 458.

Letter from Monsieur Biot to the Rev. Dr. Chalmers.

"Sir,—I could not have been more honoured than I was in receiving the letter which you addressed to me two months ago. Besides the value of this communication, owing to the elevation of sentiment which dictated it, it comes from you, Sir, that is, from one of the people whom I esteem and respect the most in the world. But why then have I not answered it sooner? Not from indifference I can assure you, but from delaying until I could send such an answer as you desire, and which has a little frightened me as to the manner of transmitting it to you; then family affairs, which claim all my care, have deprived me of the pleasure of writing to you; and finally, why should not I confess that I have been embarrassed to tell you how unfit our scientific institutions are for an example! There is no doubt, as you say, that the rising state of the mathematical sciences in France for many years has been the effect of the liberality with which their teaching is treated in our public institutions; for although MM. Lagrange and Laplace do not owe their genius to these institutions, still it has been rendered more fruitful by them. From thence issued the *first*, I may almost say the *only*, first-rate geometrician who exists now in Europe. I speak of M. Poisson. And we will never pretend to establish that the single principle of free trade, so just and so lawful in things of a practical interest accessible to the eyes of the vulgar, conducts a poor young man to the knowledge of the integral calculus, although it be the most refined talent which discovers to him the secret laws of the magnet, by means of which vessels, partizans of free trade, are guided across the seas, and though it be still by the aid of this powerful instrument of human genius that he is instructed in those tables which enable him to discover the longitude at sea. Reduced to this simplicity, the question of teaching, salary or no salary, appears to me a decision of little difficulty and not uncertain. Nobody can contest that in the present state of European civilisation every superiority of light is an element of the superiority of power; now it is of importance to know if a wise government should be proud of the preservation to private individuals of this superiority, (who are often borne to it, not by any present motive, and even do not perceive the most fertile sources of it,) or if it ought, looking higher, to burden itself with the maintenance of the national institutions. They do not hesitate to create military schools, doubtless, because few would give themselves up to the art of directing cannons or making fortifications by their free private impulse, although the state has great need of soldiers. Is not this, then, a public service as essential as that of the high studies of philosophy, of theology, of ancient literature, of the physical sciences and mathematics? And are not these also objects to which the sole activity of the principle of free trade would never impel a number of people sufficient to have the chance of sustaining them even in the most enlightened nation. Above all, they would never attain, or never by this principle alone, to this result, the most important perhaps of a high instruction largely or nationally distributed, that of bringing from the crowd, and even from the obscurest ranks, eminent talents, men of genius, whom Providence has there concealed, to issue from these ranks, and rising to the place whither their intelligence calls them, to procure for their country the double advantage of enlightening it by their labours and of not disturbing it by the element of agitation that is engendered by an unmerited inferiority of rank. I am convinced that Rousseau would have been as powerful an advocate of social doctrines as he has been their adversary if he had sustained in France a station worthy of his genius; but pressed on all sides by invincible arrangements, among which he had no room, he has been another Enceladus under Mount Etna.

"With us at present, Sir, high studies of all kinds are still publicly taught in chairs endowed by Government, but for some years back the confined ideas of those in power have caused them, I fear, to mistake the elevated end of this publicity, in which they have only seen as a luxury for the country what is one of the most energetical instruments in the development of power. They have not, however, suppressed these institutions, but they have only reduced them to an inferior status, and men of very little, even of no merit, have profited by the small importance attached to them by authority to introduce themselves into them. This mistake has engendered resistance, which authority wished to overcome by augmenting the number of mediocrities which offered themselves to its service. And this unequal state conducts our great establishments to a rapid decay. Our College of France, the only encyclopædia among our institutions, experiences already strongly this effect. The Polytechnic School, from analogous causes, is descending every day to a state of uniform mediocrity, which engenders neither resistance nor noise. It is the same with the intellectual instruction at the military schools; and what proves that this tendency to keeping down is not the disposition of the nation, is the immense concourse of young men of all ranks and of all professions who go in crowds to our public courses, where they receive lessons in physics, in chemistry, in high literature, the greater part of which will never form their principal occupation, but that they wish to complete an education fit to increase the powers of their mind. Under this teaching, (which should by its institution be very elevated, but which the great number of auditors necessarily confines to the elementary parts,) we have our colleges which are specially destined to simple instruction, and which from this title should offer the system of teaching the most in accordance with it, that is to say, with the general elements of the languages, those of natural history, of physics, of chemistry, and of mathematics: instead of all that, they give a little Latin and Greek, to which they have just now added a course of philosophical Latin according to the manner of the schools, so that young men who come from these colleges have generally but two parts to act, either that of being educated over again, which is the rarest, or to do without, which is the most common. Finally, the lowest degree of the teaching hierarchy, also the humblest degree of instruction, we have in the primary schools, destined for the people, in which they hardly learn to read, scarcely to spell, they count very imperfectly by the simple routine, are without any notion of national history, or of any thing that could occupy the mind in the intervals of manual labour. I dare hope, Sir, that you esteem me sufficiently to think that it is not without regret, nor without effort, that I could resolve to speak to you thus of the state of education in my country, I who was brought up in other ideas, in other hopes, and who owe my career to the system of intellectual development that I see with grief decline under my eyes ; but I consider you as a friend of general order and of universal justice, as a minister of truth, from whom I should conceal nothing of what my conscience dictates to me, and I am determined to tell you openly, according to the deep sentiments which I have long contained in my heart. Do me the favour to see, Sir, in this painful effort, the proof of my profound respect for your light, your character, your virtues.—I have the honour to be, very respectfully, Sir, your very humble obedient servant, Biot.

"*P.S.*—Madame Biot desires me to express to you how sensible she is of the obliging remembrances which you send her."

Dr. Chalmers had requested Monsieur Biot to give him a list of the best French mathematical works. The information he thus received he communicated to Dr. Hamilton of Aberdeen in the following letters:—

"Glasgow, *November* 21*st*, 1821.

"My Dear Sir,—I ought to apologize for having deferred so long the execution of my promise to send you the list of books which M. Biot drew up at my request, and the object of which is to fill up the gap and to chalk out the most practicable and easy transition between the English and the

French mathematics. The list is as follows:—Arithmétique de Lacroix.—Géométrie de Legendre.

"Algèbre de Lacroix; commencez cet ouvrage après avoir lu les deux premiers livres de la Géométrie de Legendre lorsque le tiro est assez familiarisé avec les considérations Géométriques, pour qu'elles n'absorbent pas toutes les facultés de son esprit. Après la Géométrie de Legendre et la Trigonométrie, Essai de Géométrie Analytique, par Biot.—Complémens d'Algèbre de Lacroix.

"Ensuite et ensemble:—Euler Introductio in Analysin Infinitorum; seulement une bonne partie de cette ouvrage pour familiariser le tiro avec l'analyse.—Astronomie de Biot.—Traité de Physique Expérimentale de même.—Mécanique de Poisson.

"Avant d'avoir complètement finis les trois derniers ouvrages commencez le grand traité de Calcul Différentiel et Intégral de Lacroix.

"Après avoir lu les deux premiers volumes du dernier ouvrage et en étudiant le troisième, le tiro est en état de lire la Mécanique Céleste et tout autre ouvrage de mathématiques sans aucun secours étranger.

"I have thought it right to give you the *ipsissima verba* of Biot. I had long felt such a list to be a most important desideratum, and keep it by me as a document that I have a very great value for.

"Permit me to add, that I felt when in Edinburgh I had made an acquisition which I highly prize when I became acquainted with you. And it is indeed my earnest wish and prayer that you may be long spared to us on earth, and that we may meet again in that abiding country where sin and sorrow and separation are unknown.—Yours very affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"GLASGOW, *November 24th*, 1821.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 13th only yesterday. I had sent off a copy of Biot's manuscript two days before. But your kind communication has made me desirous of affording you some further statements that I received from him verbally. My partialities are all on the side of geometry, though it must be admitted that analysis is a far more powerful instrument of research and discovery. It is well said by Professor Robison that in Algebra the *ipsa corpora* are not present to the mind, and by the late Dr. Gregory, that it was the act of teaching men to reason without thinking. Biot was very strenuous in his defence of the analytical methods—said that they were essential for supplementing the defect of the human faculties—that it was utterly impossible for the mind to do with the things represented by the symbols what it was quite easy to do by a sort of manipulation with the symbols themselves; and he even contended that Sir Isaac Newton must have suppressed the methods by which he was conducted from one proposition to another in his 'Principia'—that it was not conceivable how he could have made such gigantic strides on purely geometrical ground, and had it not been for algebraical stepping-stones, which he has withheld from the public, he never could have reached so far into the depths of mathematical science. * * *

"I have again to offer my best compliments to Mrs. Hamilton; and I entreat you to believe me, yours with great esteem and regard,

Thomas Chalmers."

APPENDIX O.—P. 485.

Speech at the Farewell Dinner before leaving Glasgow.

"I can truly say, my Lord, that I never felt more at a loss than now to acquit myself under the overwhelming honour which your Lordship has laid upon me. I am quite aware of this being the customary preface when a complimentary speech calls for the customary and complimentary reply. But this demonstration of regard to one so unworthy of it, overpasses all custom, and could I find adequate utterance for the feelings which it hath stirred up within me, it would greatly overpass all compliment. And I am sure that you will hear me with indulgence, if you reflect but one moment on the substantial difficulties of the condition in which I have been placed by the kindness of my friends.

"I am the prime, and in one sense, the voluntary mover in this separation, and however good my reasons might be, it is impossible to give such full conveyance of them to the minds of others, as altogether to divest this measure of a certain air and aspect of ungraciousness. How then ought I to feel under the graciousness and the good-will that have been reflected back again? I may be said with my own hand to have inflicted a shock on all that there was of friendship towards me in Glasgow; and how ought I to feel under the demonstration now so palpably given, that even after the shock the friendship remains unshaken? Gentlemen, you have heaped coals of fire upon my head, and when viewed as a process of action and of reaction between me and yourselves, I do most intimately feel how much you have excelled and how much you have overcome me.

"It were utterly out of place to enter upon reasons now, but this much at least may be said, that however strong and satisfactory they might be to my own mind, I could not have remained the object of your complacency without a stretch of Christian and gentlemanly candour on your part. Of this you have this day made a most unequivocal announcement, and you have left me to struggle as I can through the delicacies that have been wakened by such a singular and unlooked for manifestation.

"There is one assurance, however, which you will indulge me in making, and I feel a comfort in the open proclamation of it. It was not a change of local situation, but a change of life that I deemed essential both to my continued existence and usefulness in the world. I would not have given up the congregation and parish that I held here for any other parish or congregation in Scotland. It was not another parish but another profession that I deemed indispensable to my health, and nothing short of a change so total as might at once release me from all draughts upon my physical strength, and at the same time so much in unison with the great objects of the Christian ministry, that mentally I might just live and labour as before. Nothing short of an office so singularly suited to all the urgencies of my constitution could have torn me away from you.

"I have not words to express the high rate at which I appreciate the work of the Christian minister. I must adequately feel the worth of an imperishable soul—I must send my imagination onwards to that awful eternity over which it is doomed to expatiate—I must compute the arithmetic of our short-lived generations, and rivet upon my thoughts how surely and how speedily it is that they roll over us—I must realize the agonies of the coming death, and the solemnities of the coming judgment, ere I can calculate aright its awful superiority over the occupations of other men. If the work of a Christian minister be second in importance to any, it can only be to the work of him who like my friend here beside me deals in embryo with the Christian ministers of the next generation, on whose labours in the academic chair is suspended the future welfare of many parishes, who even now may be securing an influence that is afterwards to evangelize the pulpits of this land, and may thus be providing a pure and wholesome aliment for the immortal spirits of children who are yet unborn, who may have reason to bless his labours and rejoice in the light that he leaves behind him when we all are sleeping in the dust; and I shall regard it as above all Greek and all Roman fame, if the mere elementary lessons I am called to deliver shall be found to harmonize with the lessons of a sound and a Scriptural theology, if from the first principles of that earlier stage which I am called to occupy in the course of education, a few young and aspiring disciples shall go on to perfection in the school of Christ; or, if within my humble sphere I shall be able to ward off that deadly infidel poison from the well-springs of philosophy, under the operation of which so many have passed onward to the studies of the sacred profession, and brought a deleterious mixture into the very fountainhead of inspiration.

"There is one topic more on which I must claim a little longer the indulgence of this great and most respectable assembly. The parish that was assigned to me as the field of my labours, introduced me, I may say, both to the profit and the luxury of many acts of friendship with the poor, and I have only had but rare and occasional intercourse with the higher classes of society in Glasgow. When I recollect the frequent and the familiar converse that for a good many years I have had among the families at the one extreme of the community, and now behold myself at the close of this intercourse with them, the object of an attention so signal beyond all my deserts, and so flattering beyond all my fondest expectations, from the most distinguished in affluence and rank at the other extreme of the community, it forcibly reminds me of the definition which is sometimes given of the status of a clergyman in society. I can now without indelicacy speak of all the honours and privileges which attach to a profession which I have now relinquished, and that deliverance which has been made on the place that a minister of the gospel has in this scale of distinction, appears to me the most skilfully assigned that ever was given out from the coats of heraldry ; that he is a man of no rank, because he belongs to all ranks, that it is not possible to assign his place in the scale, because from the highest to the lowest he is viewed on a ground of affectionate equality by them all, because he one day may be a welcome and distinguished guest in the proudest palaces of the land, and at another be the willing and familiar inmate in the very humblest of its cottages. A singular anomaly, but one convertible to the finest results in human life, and that might be made most eminently conclusive to a healthy state of the body politic. It is true that the direct and essential business of a Christian teacher hath a loftier object than this,—that he looks above and beyond the interests of a perishable world, and that then he is described according to his most correct and specific character, when it is said of his lessons that they are preparatives for death, of his church that it is a school for immortality. But surely the blessings wherewith it is the part of Christianity to deck and to dignify the present temporary scenes ought not to be overlooked ; and we have ever deemed the most important of them to arise from the amphibious character which he holds in relation to the rich and the poor of society, standing as it were in the gap between the patrician and the plebeian orders, filling up with the charities of his sacred office that space which might else be fiercely lighted with the mutual glances of hostility and disdain, softening as it were the whole breath of the community by the impulse which he gives to a bland and beneficent circulation of good-will on the one hand, and gratitude on the other, and so contributing more than any other means can possibly do to the peace and order of the human family.

" I would not have thus expatiated on such topics, had I not been confident of a gracious hearing—had I not felt myself in the presence of those who have spoken out more substantially than by words their high sense of the worth of the Christian ministry, in the presence of city rulers, under whose auspices in less than five years houses of worship have been built or are now building within the limits of the Establishment for more than 5000 of the population of Glasgow—who, beyond all former examples, have speeded onward the cause of the people's religious character, and have made, I will say it, a larger advance within the same time than any other magistracy of the land in this high walk of patriotism.

" I have already said that my intercourse with the higher classes has only been rare and occasional ; but I have had enough of such intercourse to derive from it a conviction that I have for years been in the habit of expressing on every proper occasion, and I fondly trust that it will not be charged upon me as an impropriety now, if I express it once more, even though in the immediate presence of many around me who have successively filled the chief station in our magistracy. I must confess that previous to my becoming an inhabitant of Glasgow, and living as I did in a land of boroughs, I shared in a very general impression that obtains with regard to the characteristics of a borough administration. Like many other general impressions, it is very likely that there is a great deal of injustice in it, but doubtless it is that somehow or other throughout the country at large, a certain association prevails of jobbing and jockeyship, and paltry intrigue with the whole management and affairs of boroughships. Now, I am perfectly sure that I speak but the sense and experience of all who are near enough for the advantage of observation, when I affirm how utterly at antipodes with all this degrading paltriness is the municipal style and character of Glasgow. On the moment that I first got into contact with its public functionaries, I saw and acknowledged them to be of an elevated caste, and never since have I come within the sphere of their converse without the feeling that I breathed in an atmosphere of high-minded and honourable men, whose perfect urbanity in private could only be equalled by a style of official proceedings that was altogether fearless, magnanimous, and open. *Sans peur et sans reproche*, was the motto I think of some old and gallant order of chivalry, and I hold it to be the most memorable, and at the same time the most gratifying experience of my life, that it is in the heart of a modern city, and amid the busy play of its politics and passions, that I have met with the brightest exemplification of it."

At a later period of the evening, on Dr. Chalmers's name being connected with the University of St. Andrews, he rose and said,—" I must advert for one moment to that University wherewith my name at present has been associated Why, my Lord, I have heard her spoken of as if she were little better than a decayed gentlewoman, who had nought but the high origin of her family to bear her up under the decline of her now withered fortunes, that by the prosperity of her more modern neighbours she is now completely overborne, that it is true she has still her grey ruins and her venerable recollections to appeal to, even as the old lady to whom she is compared can still bring forth some venerable relics of former days, a piece of magnificent brocade, for example, worn at court by her great-grandmother, or perhaps some obsolete china and other vestiges of antique grandeur, spread out in fair display upon her mantelpiece. Now we are not just in these circumstances. On a visit which I paid to that seat of learning at the end of the last winter session I found that the number of students had increased threefold within the period of my own recollection, so that we have the full impulse of a fresh and recent prosperity, and we have all the glory of our ruins and recollections to boot. Still, however, it must be admitted that the other universities of the land have got so very much before us, that it makes us very glad to mingle the pride of our other days with the pleasure of our actual prosperity. We feel ourselves the better, as if by the operation of a cordial, when we talk a little of our primeval character; and we hope that the other colleges will not be the worse when they are occasionally reminded of this. Therefore, my Lord, as you have given the University of St. Andrews, I beg to give her younger sister the University of Glasgow."

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

EDINBURGH : T. CONSTABLE, PRINTER TO HER MAJESTY.

MEMOIRS OF DR. CHALMERS.

VOL. I.

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